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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1940

PART I.—JANUARY

The Interpretation of Dreams in Ad-Damiri's *Ḥayāt Al-Ḥayawān*

BY JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

ALL over the Orient dreams have ever been regarded as divine revelations, and the interpretation of them has developed into a distinguished branch of study. Islām, too, has ever attributed a great importance to dreams, especially under Jewish and Stoic influences. Muḥammad's revelation started with visions while he was asleep,[1] and *Qur'ān* and *ḥadīth* contain plenty of allusions to the significance of dreams.[2] Small wonder that the interpretation of dreams (*'ilm at-ta'bīr* or *'ilm at-ta'wīl*) has developed into an important branch of Muslim science, one of the natural sciences together with medicine, physiognomy, alchemy, and astrology, as also with the Greeks. The interpreters of dreams occupied a high rank in society and were reputed to rank with the prophets, whose miraculous qualities they were believed to possess.

In Arabic literature there are scores of special works on the *ta'bīr*,[3] while in more than one work of general interest

[1] See al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl-Juynboll, vol. i, p. 5, l. 1 ff.; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 151, l. 3.

[2] See at-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, written in 737/1336, book 21, chapter 4.

[3] See Ḥājjī Khalīfa, Nos. 848, 3057–3078, 3483, 4247, 4764, 5071; N. Bland, "On the Muhammedan Science of Tâbír, or Interpretation of Dreams," *JRAS.*, 1856, pp. 118–171, in the *Appendix* enumerates scores of oneirocritical works, mainly in Persian.

separate chapters deal with this branch of science.[1] To this category belongs also the zoological encyclopædia *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* of ad-Damīrī.[2] This work also contains separate subchapters on the meaning of animals seen in dreams. They were very carefully compiled by ad-Damīrī. The importance attributed by him to the science of *ta'bīr* is evident from a passage[3] where, contrasting the futility of astrology with the usefulness of medicine and *ta'bīr*, he states that "the science of *ta'bīr*, though being a conjecture, forms one of the forty-six parts of prophetic mission, and besides there is no danger in it".

These subchapters on *ta'bīr* also include some phenomena connected with animal life as well as ideas expressed by similar words; thus the article *al-jinn* treats of folly (*junūn*) in dreams; the article *al-ḥūt al-ḥayd* (kind of large fish), of menstruation (*ḥayḍ*); the article *as-samak* (fish), of fishing; and the article *al-faras al-baḥrī* (hippopotamus), of seas, lakes, rivers, and fountains.

As in his whole work, so here ad-Damīrī refers to a number of authorities. His most frequently quoted authority is the *Oneirokritika* of Artemidoros Daldianos, who lived at Ephesus about A.D. 170. His work was translated into Arabic probably *circa* A.H. 200, when the science of *ta'bīr* flourished. His influence on the development of *ta'bīr* was great: his work in Arabic translation was much used by Muslim interpreters. Of Arabic authors ad-Damīrī most frequently quotes Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn al-Baṣrī, who died in 110/728–9.[4] He is called *imām al-mu'abbirīn* and was one of the greatest authorities on *ta'bīr*, though his works are doubtless pseudo-

[1] See al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, vol. iii, pp. 347 ff.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Al muqaddima*, French translation, vol. i, pp. 184 ff.; vol. iii, pp. 114 ff.

[2] See the introduction of my "Index des sources de la *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* de ad-Damīrī", *J.A.*, 1928, juillet-septembre, pp. 5–10.

[3] See *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 13, l. 27. See *Mishkāt*, part 1: *ar-ru'yā juz' min sitta wa arba'īn juz' min an-nubuwwa.*

[4] Three works attributed to him are printed: *Kitāb jawāmi' at-ta'bīr*, Cairo, A.H. 1310; *Muntakhab al-kalām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, Būlāq, 1868; *Ta'bīr ar-ru'yā*, Cairo, 1864, Lucknow, 1874, Bombay, 1879.

epigraphs.[1] Of later authors ad-Damīrī sometimes quotes Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Kirmānī,[2] and Abū Sa'd Naṣr ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ad-Dīnawarī who lived about 400/1009–1010 and ranked among the celebrated Arab interpreters of dreams.

Other authors quoted are: Ibn al-Muqrī, frequently referred to, of whom nothing is known; Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣiddīq, i.e. the Prophet Joseph; the Persian Jāmāsb, an obscure personality; Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the sixth *imām* (died 148/765–6), to whom probably more than one oneirocritical work was later attributed[3]; Ibn ad-Daqqāq, al-Jīlī, al-Maqdisī, who were more or less known persons.[4]

It is the deductions of these interpreters that ad-Damīrī's work contains; in a few cases it reports also interpreted dreams, mainly by Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn.[5]

These chapters of the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* taken altogether form a complete book of dreams about animal life; they are also a good repository of the earlier literature. The important material of these chapters can best be systematically studied by following the different methods of interpretations which the Muslim *mu'abbirūn* adopted.[6]

(1) *The Symbolical Interpretation*

The commonest method of interpretation of dreams is the symbolical (*ta'wīl ar-ru'yā min ma'nāhu*): a reasonable

[1] See A. Fischer, " Die Quitte als Vorzeichen bei Persern und Arabern und das Traumbuch des 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī," *ZDMG.*, vol. 68 (1914), p. 304, n. 2.

[2] His *Dustūr fī t-ta'bīr* was much used. See Ḥājjī Khalīfa, No 5071; *Fihrist*, 316, 26; N. Bland, op. cit., p. 153.

[3] Thus his *Taqsīm ar-ru'yā*, see Ḥājjī Khalīfa, No. 3483; N. Bland, op. cit., p. 153.

[4] For pages and lines in the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* where all these authors are quoted, see my Index, Nos. 310, 313, 329, 343–7, 639, 737, and 799.

[5] Thus in the articles *al-baqar al-ahlī*, *al-jarād*, *ad-dijāj*, *ad-dīk*, *aṣ-ṣaqr*, *al-'uṣfūr*, *al-'alaq*, *al-ghurāb*, *al-faras*, *al-qummal*, *al-kabsh*, *al-kalb*, *an-nāqa*, and *al-hirr*.

[6] For the enumeration of these methods see Ibn Sīrīn, *Ta'bīr ar-ru'yā*, p. 4; A. Fischer, op. cit., pp. 288–290.

interpretation is given to the dreams corresponding to the subjects seen in them, phenomena succeeding each other in dreams are interpreted as phenomena succeeding each other in reality This method is frequently combined with the interpretation of such qualities of the animals as are attributed to them in popular belief This method is most extensively used in the *Hayat al hayawan* ad Damiri himself recommends it to the interpreters [1] The material on this subject is summarized as follows [2] —

Lion a vehement unjust and unreliable sultan Its hair flesh or bones riches acquired from a sultan or an enemy [3] Eating its head acquiring a kingdom Its roar menace from a sultan death —Camel influence over people great fortune Many camels epidemics and war — *Arada* (wood fretter) scientific disputation —Hare beautiful but unsociable woman Its baked flesh unstable good luck Chasing it happiness marriage children success over enemies — *Asari* (red worms) a hypocritical thief — Man the dreamer himself one like him Unknown man if young enemy if old good luck friend Youth deliverance from pestilence or famine good news angel Woman jewel or trinket Ugly person disagreeable affair Eunuch angel humiliation Head chief father capital

Hawk somebody belonging to the ruling class —Parrot unlucky and lying man philosopher servant orphan — *Birdhaun* (nag) hostility incorrect pronunciation woman

Fleas weak and slandering enemies Sting of fleas riches Mule travel long life dignity woman — Horned cattle good luck Its lowing well known scholars

[1] See *Hayat al hayawan* vol i p 232 l 33 vol ii p 82 l 5 p 87 ll 23 4

[2] For the grouping of the names of the animals the Arabic alphabetical order is followed

[3] Skins, hair horns flesh milk feathers, eggs and honey generally indicate good riches and advantages see especially in the article *al hayawan* (animals)

Its scraping: illness. Beef: good things.[1]—Bugs: weak enemies; powerless army; restlessness and affliction.—Nightingale: rich man; young reader of the Qur'ān.—Owl: conspiring chief; a king terrifying his subjects; disparition of timidity.

Crocodile: powerful enemy; forceful thief.—*Tinnīn* (dragon): angel; in the dream of a sick man: his death.

Fox: woman; cunning man. Its flesh: pains and flatulence. Its milk: recovery from an illness.—Bull: powerful master; great benefactor; stupidity and negligence.

Buffalo: brave man.—Kid: male child. Eating from its foreleg: escaping from danger; eating from its left side: disquietude and sorrow.—Locusts: evil-doers. Many locusts when they can be gathered and eaten: good luck.—*Juradh* (field-rat): impiety; evil; lowliness.—Beetle: odious enemy; transport of illegally acquired goods.—Camel: if Arabian: rule over Bedouins; if Bactrian: strangers. Being attacked by a camel: altercation with a vulgar man. Eating its head: slandering a chief. Two fighting camels: two angels. Pulling a camel: victory over an enemy. Falling from its back: poverty. Camels marching one by one: rain. Massacre of camels: appeal to generous people. Becoming a camel: people's pretensions. Camels generally: domicile; vessel; death; woman; vengeance; patient man; delay; tutelary genius; advantages; travel; bad luck.—*Jinn*: intriguing people; thieves.

Bustard: generous man.—Mare: woman.—Partridge: morose woman; the love of children.—Kite: culprit; brigand.—Chameleon: king's minister or regent; occupation for the sulṭān; religious sedition; magician woman; lamentation for the dead.—*Ḥirdhaun* (*stellio vulgaris, agama stellio*): avarice; change of mind; forgetfulness.—Domestic ass: prosperity; slave; son; riches; footwear; stupid man; bastard.—Killing an ass for eating: abundance of

[1] Baked, boiled, or roast flesh generally indicates good things; raw flesh, bad things.

sustenance; killing it for other purposes: destruction of these means. Saddled ass: son and dignity. Egyptian ass: protector. Its bray: malediction against evil-doers. Fighting with an ass: loss of one of the next-of-kin. Ass changing into horse: fortune and rank; changing into mule: riches by travel. Hoofs: riches; hearing them march: rain.—Wild ass: cruel wife or son; dweller in deserts. Its milk: observance of religion. Possessing its flesh: dignity; booty; riches.—*Ḥimār Qabbān* (plant-louse): decreasing energy; vulgar company.—Pigeon: reliable messenger; friend; companion. Its hen: beautiful and fortunate Arab woman.—*Ḥūt al-ḥayḍ* (kind of large fish). Menstruation in dreams: illegal sexual relations; lie.—Serpent: enemy; domination; life; inundation; son; woman. Its bite: great riches.[1] Serpent speaking to the dreamer: felicity.—Animal: animal talking to somebody, if he understands it: what it says will happen: if he does not understand it: he should take care of his riches.

Lamb: obedient son; favourable things. Killing it without the purpose of eating: the dreamer's son will die.[2]—*Khuṭṭāf* (swallow): man; woman; riches; the reciter of the Qur'ān; fortune.—Bat: religious man; loss of fear. Female bat: sorceress; male bat: disappointed and embarrassed man.—Mole: blind man; confusion; dissimulation.—Swine. Pig: evil; calamity; illegal riches. Sow: ample posterity. Riding a pig: riches; victory over an enemy. Walking like a pig: happiness and rest. Domestic pig: abundance[3]; wild pig; rain or hail.—*Khunfasā* (*tenebrio hispidus, vulgaris et polychrestus*): death of a woman; employment of bad people; detestable enemy.—Horse: force; ornament; glory. Horse flying in the air; sedition. Post-horse: approach of a rider.

[1] Poison as a rule indicates riches.

[2] Little ones of all the animals: disquietude and sorrow, because they are rapidly tamed.

[3] Every tame animal: realization of an aim; satisfaction of the dreamer's wants.

Bear: evil; difficulty; affliction; deception; treason; ugly woman; chain and prison; stupid enemy; deceitful thief; voyage.—Hen: humble woman. Fat hens: perfidious women. Chickens: bastards. Its cluck: evil; calamity; death. Hen entering a place: removal of disquietude; joy; consolation. Chasing or seizing a hen: government and riches; killing it: defloration of a slave-girl. Hens and chickens pushed from one place to another: prison for the dreamer. Cooing of hens and pea-hens: bad. Holding an egg in one's hand, if the dreamer is single: marriage; if he is married: birth of a daughter to him.—Francolin: riches; woman; slave.—Dolphin: frauds; dissimulation; espionage; many prayers; rain.—Worms: enemy from somebody's next-of-kin. Silk-worms: buyers; subjects; illegal riches; short-lived children; approach of death; weavers.—Cock: *mu'azzin*; reciter of the Qur'ān; man addicted to sexual life; noisome courtier; flute-player; man watching over a corpse; generous man; man in difficulties; master of the house.[1]

Flies: quarrelsome antagonist; weak army; illness and remedy. Many flies: easy means of sustenance.—Wolf: lie; cunning; hostility; tyrannical chief. Wolf becoming domestic: repenting thief. Association of wolf and dog: hypocrisy; fraud; deception.—*Dharr* (red ants): weak people.

Ruthaylā (kind of venomous reptile, perhaps *Galeodes*): malicious woman; mortal enemy of insignificant appearance.—*Rukh* (griffin): strange news; long voyage; incoherent talk.—Egyptian vulture: stupid and dirty man. Seizing it: bloody war; grave illness. Vulture entering a house: death of a sick man or the proprietor of the house.

Crow: powerful people addicted to amusements; bastards.—Starling: travel; vileness; content; play; writer.—Giraffe: bad luck; beautiful woman; bad news; false wife.—Hornet: fighting enemy; architect; highwayman; bad musician; poison.

[1] Similarly hen: mistress of the house.

Sāmm abraṣ (gecko) and *'aẓā'a*: two rascals.—Crab: armed enemy. Eating it: riches from a distant country.—*Saqanqūr* (kind of Egyptian lizard): *imām* guiding his people in darkness.—Turtle: flaunting woman; the qāḍī of the qāḍīs.—Quail: getting rid of difficulties or an enemy; prosperity.—*Sumānā* (*coturnix communis*): agricultural products; amusement; dissipation; capital crime.—Fish. Large fish: king's wazir; booty and riches; small fish: king's troops; disquietude and sorrow; roast fish: scientific research voyage; salt fish: disquietude; prosperity. Fishing: change of mind; marriage; children; property. Fishing tackle, heavier sort: difficulty; lighter sort: more means of sustenance. Skin, scaly: pure gold or silver; not scaly: endless actions. Sea-water vanishing and fish and pearls remaining in the bottom: secret knowledge and religion.—Sable: tyrant; thief.

Shujā' (kind of large snake): audacious son; experienced woman.—*Shuḥrūr* (kind of passerine singing-bird): sulṭān's scribe: eloquent son.—*Shaqirrāq* (popinjay): beautiful woman.

Ṣāfir (small passerine bird): confusion; dissimulation; confidence in the protection of powerful people.—Shell: boys and girls; riches; good words. Having bored one through: correct knowledge of the Qur'ān. Taking out a pearl from the shell and selling it: forgetting the Qur'ān. Scattering pearls and people picking them up: the dreamer will preach useful sermons to them. Pearl in hand: marriage or birth of a son. Many pearls extracted from sea: immense wealth due to sea. String of pearls: beautiful woman; marriage.—*Ṣurad* (large sparrow): hypocrite; highwayman.—Falcon: all sorts of good things; death; prison; designing; lack of victuals. Trained falcon: eloquent man; son.[1]

[1] As a rule, all the birds of prey indicate eloquent people or sons, and if the birds do not fight, booty. Generally animals used for fighting indicate courageous boys.

Ḍabb (lizard): artful Arab; man of unknown descent; cursed man.—Hyena: divulgation of secrets; meddling with matters which are not your business. Male hyena: nice hermaphrodite; tyrannical enemy. Female hyena: ugly and base-born woman; sorceress.—Frog: being accompanied by them: relatives and neighbours. Eating its flesh: difficulty. Talking to frog: kingdom. Frogs coming out of a town: impending torture.

Peacock: pride and admiration; calumny; unhappiness; submission; ornaments; nice spouses. Birds. Their cries indicate good, with the exception of aquatic birds, peacock, domestic hen, and male ostrich.—*Ṭīṭawā* (kind of waterfowl): woman.

Gazelle: beautiful Arab woman.—Musk: lover or girl; riches; happiness. Taking musk: arrest.

Calf: male child.—Sparrow: liar; joker; rich old man; affectionate woman.—*'Aẓā'a* (kind of lizard): hypocrisy; actions contrary to secret designs.—Eagle: glory; victory; long life; valiant warrior; angel of death. For fighters for religion: solitary life; for kings: peace and safety.—Scorpion: slanderer. Killing one: temporary loss of riches. Its baked flesh: inheritance of riches; its flesh not baked: the dreamer will slander an immoral man in his absence.[1] Scorpion in stomach, or alighting from a scorpion from behind: disobedient children.—Magpie: uncertain and ungrateful man; gatherer of grains. Talking to a magpie: news from an absent person.—Leeches: contemptible and envious enemy.[2]—Nightingale: sagacious boy.—*'Anqā Mughrib* (griffin-like fabulous bird): man of dignity; heretic and unsociable man. Talking to the dreamer: means of sustenance or post of wazīr from a caliph. Riding it: influence over a man without peer. Chasing or seizing it: marriage with a beautiful woman; courageous son.—Spider: man renouncing the world;

[1] This is the interpretation of the flesh of all non-edible animals.
[2] This is the interpretation of small snakes, ants, and moths.

cursed woman; weaver.—Weasel: marriage with a young woman.

Raven: perfidious and lucky man; cupidity; grave-digger; bad news; sorrows; miseries; old woman. It is bad seeing a raven in fields, houses, or trees. Getting a raven: happiness.—Sheep and goats: pious subjects; spouses; children; possessions. Sheep: noble and nice women; goats: pious and poor women.

Collared turtle-dove: honour; reputation; good luck; players and dancers; spouses and female slaves.—Rats and mice: weeping Jewess; iniquitous Jew; thief; means of sustenance. Their departure or gnawing the dreamer's clothes: long life.—Moths, butterflies: weak enemies; swaggerer; unemployment.—*Farkh* (chicken). Roast chicken: laboriously acquired means of sustenance; raw flesh of chicken: slandering the Prophet's family and noblemen.—Horse: voyage; merchandise; companion; woman; son; well-constructed house. Stubborn horse: fool. Riding a horse: generous man. Mare: beautiful and rich woman. Foal: agreeable son. Leading a horse: looking for a nobleman's service. Gelding: servant. Mounting an improper horse: insupportable pains. Horse-flesh: praise; respect; illness. Saddles indicate the animals to which they belong.—Hippopotamus: he; interminable affair. *Sea*: captivity; learned scholar: the world. Seated or lying in the midst of it: a king's friendship or enmity. Drinking sea-water: riches from a king. Sea-waves: power of the king. *Lakes*: qâdis or slaves. *Rivers*: great men; travels. *Fountains*: favours, security. *Stagnant water*: no good.—*Farrūj* (chicken): slave-children; affairs ending quickly.—Weaned camel: noble boy.[1]—Leopard: undecided enemy; honour; devotion; courtier; *dallāl*.—Elephant: foreign king; corpulent enemy; sedition. Mounting an elephant daily; the dreamer will divorce his wife.[2]

[1] The little one of any animal touched in dream: disquietude.

[2] Because in Nubia it was customary for a divorced man to parade in the streets on elephant's back.

Ticks: enemies.—Monkey: sinful man. Eating its flesh: recovery from illness.—Shark: high rank in genealogy.—Sandgrouse: sincerity; eloquence; friendship.—Turtle-dove: indebted woman; man with a good voice.—*Qummal* (lice): chieftains; army; riches; weak people; slaves.—Porcupine: cunning; espionage; slander; evil; violent wrath.

Ram: riding it indicates crucifixion for a perfidious man. Sacrificing two rams: carefree and immune state.—*Karkannad* (rhinoceros): powerful and tyrannical king; war and quarrel. —Crane: strange poor man; journey. Many cranes: chieftaincy and riches.—Dog: slaves; impudent people; illness; next-of-kin; lamentation; liars; guards. Bitten or scratched by dogs: obtaining what the dreamer endeavours to get. The dog of the Seven Sleepers [1]: fear; prison; flight; concealment. Chasing dogs: glory and elevation. Dog tearing one's clothes: slander by a fool. Bitch: vile woman. Puppy: beloved child. Shepherd's dog: profit from a king. Chasing with dogs: desires fulfilled. Watch-dog: chastity of wife; means of sustenance.

Lioness: king's daughter. Seeing her or cohabitation with her: high rank; victory.—*Laja'* (kind of turtle): chaste woman; year of fertility; protection from enemies.—Stork: sociable people. Many storks: bandits; enemies. Separated storks: happiness for travellers.

Antelope: chieftaincy; authority over strangers.—She-camel: woman. She-camel with her calf: celestial sign; general sedition. Milking a she-camel: post of wālī.—Bee: abundance; content; post of wālī; soldiers; scholars. For cultivators: favourable things; for non-cultivators and soldiers: quarrel.—Vulture: king; death, jealousy. Seeing it or hearing its cry: quarrel.—*Nisnās* (kind of monkey): stupid man.—Ostrich: Bedouin woman; deaf man.—Ewe: abundance; riches. Many ewes: pious women. —Leopard: tyrannical sulṭān; powerful enemy. Its flesh: riches, rank. Its milk: hostility.—Ichneumon: impudence.—

[1] Cf. *Qur'ān*, 18, 12–24.

Ants: weak and greedy people; army; abundance. For sick people: no good.

Owl: impudent woman.—Hoopoe: learned man; honour; riches. For timid man: security.—Cat: guards; thieves; year of illness. Its flesh: magic.

Turtle-dove: despised stranger; sincere woman.—*Waral* (kind of African lizard): abject enemies.—*Wazagha* (kind of white lizard): solitary man; ill-speaking enemy.—Bat: neglect of religious duties; bastards; cessation of benefactions.

Jerboa: man cursing and lying much.

(2) *The Method of Reciprocal and Antithetical Interpretation*

The method of symbolical interpretation is combined with that of reciprocal interpretation: if A indicates B in the interpretation, reciprocally a dream about B indicates A, *e.g.* if a tiger indicates illness, then illness indicates a tiger. This method, again, is frequently combined with the method of interpretation *e contrario*: if a thing is inverted, its effect will also be inverted, *e.g.* if the purchase of a male slave indicates evil, then the sale of him indicates good; similarly, if the purchase of a male slave indicates evil, then the purchase of a female slave indicates good, and the sale of her, evil. This combined method of interpretation (*ta'wīl ar-ru'yā bid-didd wal-maqlūb*) [1] can be studied in the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*.

Lion: going towards a lion and fearing it: troubles; difficulties; not fearing it: the dreamer will overcome his enemy.—Man: small stature: diminution of fortune and happiness; full stature: increase of both. Black woman: dark night; white woman: bright day. Woman dreaming of an unknown woman, if she is young: she is her enemy; if she is old: happiness for her. Woman's face veiled: hard times; not veiled: world without evil or fatigue. Eating another person's flesh: the dreamer will slander that person; eating his own flesh: he will be slandered. Raw flesh: material loss; boiled or baked flesh: property. Woman eating

[1] See 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, *Ta'fīr al-anām*, vol. i, p. 7, l. 16.

another woman's flesh: *altera cum altera actionem fricturae committet*; woman eating her own flesh: she will commit adultery.—Horned cattle: mixture of colours in its foreparts: famine in the first months of the year; in the hindparts: famine in the last months of the year. A dream of one's own cow will have a retroactive effect on one's own wife or daughter; milking another person's cow: the dreamer will act perfidiously with this person's wife.—Mare: riding on a saddled mare: legal marriage with a noble and fortunate woman; riding on a mare without saddle: illegal connection with a woman. Fat one: year of plenty; lean one: year of famine, change of fortune.—Ass: Meagre or weak asses: increase of riches; fat asses: riches that have passed away.—If a domestic ass turns into a wild one: wrong and damage; if a wild ass turns into a domestic ass: profit and good.—Serpent. Black ones: powerful enemies; white ones: weak enemies.—Lamb. Roast lamb if fat: many riches; if lean: few riches.—Hen: if she goes to a sick man: he will recover; if she goes to a healthy man: he will fall ill. Raw eggs: illegal possession; boiled eggs: legal possession.—Bird. Good bird. good action, good news; bad bird: bad action, bad news. Bird's manure, if edible: legally acquired riches; if not edible: illegally acquired riches.—Black birds: bad actions; white birds: good actions. Male birds: men; female birds: women. Birds associating with people: spouses and children; birds not associating with people: enemies and strangers.—Monkey. Fighting with and knocking down a monkey: recovery from illness; being knocked down by a monkey: no recovery can be expected.—Lice: found in a new shirt: riches; in old clothes: increasing debts.—Ram: With horns: man of noble valour; without horns: destitute and detestable man.

(3) *Etymological Interpretation*

This is the interpretation of the name of the object seen in dreams. This method has been highly developed with the

Arabs. The Arabic vocabulary with its manifold meanings for the same groups of consonants and the ease of forming many metatheses furnishes numerous possibilities for the application of this method.[1] It is subdivided into (*a*) the interpretation by the etymology of the word, (*b*) the interpretation by adding consonants or syllables to the word, (*c*) the interpretation by omitting consonants or syllables of the word.[2] There are good instances for this method in the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*.

She-ass: woman bringing copious means of subsistence, large prosperity, advantages; *atān* being held to be derived from *atyān*, "*coitus*."—*Thaur* (bull): amiable young man (*thaur*); mental alienation (*thaur*).—*Jamal* (camel): beauty (*jamāl*).[3] In the article *Jinn* folly (*junūn*) is also treated of. Another derivation from the same root, *janīn* (embryo) is also made use in the interpretation; a woman dreaming of being mad and treated with talismanic enchantment: she will conceive a sagacious and wily son.—Pigeon (*Ḥamām*) on the head of a sick man: predestined death, because *himām* means death.—*Khuṭṭāf* (swallow). Seizing a swallow: illegally acquired riches, the word also meaning "robber, despoiler".—*Khuld* (mole). Seeing a mole with a person's corpse. this person is either in Hell [3] or in Paradise; the same word also meaning "eternity", and habitation in both places being eternal.—*Salwā* (quail): negligence, forgetting a friend; the same word also meaning "consolation, relief".—*Sim'* (little one of she-wolf or hyena): a reporter of good and bad news from hearsay, *sam'* meaning "hearing".—*Ṣadaf* (shell-fish). Having a shell-fish in hand: the dreamer will turn away (*yaṣdifu*) from something that he wanted to do and will annul his decision.—In the article *'Alaq* (leeches) coagulated blood (*'alaq*) is also treated of: it indicates

[1] This method is, according to R. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 405, nothing but the ancient *fāl* applied to dreams. See also A. Fischer, op. cit., p. 289. 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī, op. cit., v. 1, 7[10]; v. 2, 35[6]

[2] Ibid.

[3] See also in the chapter on Qur'ānic interpretation.

miscarriage.—*Ghurāb* (raven): absence of a person (*ghurba*) from his dwelling-place.—*Fa'r* (rats and mice): adulteress (*imra'a fāsiqa*), another word for rats and mice being *fuwaysiqa*.—Riding a horse: journey, the word *safar* (journey) being a metathesis from *faras*. Stallion (*ḥiṣān*): protection (*yuḥṣanu*) from enemies. Bay horse: wine, both are *kumait*.—*Kalb* (dog): covetousness for worldly goods (*inkilāb 'alā d-dunyā*) yet having none.—Ostrich: well-being or riches, the word *ni'ma* being like *na'ma*. An ostrich also indicates the message of somebody's death (*na'ā*). According to some interpretations one ostrich: one good action, two ostriches: two good actions, and three ostriches: message of death.—*Na'ja* (ewe) noble and rich woman, the words *nisā* (women) and *ni'āj* (ewes) being homonyms.—*Hudhud* (hoopoe): ruin (*hadam*).

(4) *Qur'ānic Interpretation*

The Qur'ānic interpretation is a specifically Muslim method of interpreting dreams. A passage of the Qur'ān where the object dreamed of occurs is used analogically. By reason of the divine origin of the Qur'ān this method is the most highly valued by Muslims, though it is more difficult than any other method because it requires a profound knowledge of the Qur'ān. Traditions and proverbs are also applied in the same way. The *Hayāt al-hayawān* contains plenty of instances for all the three methods of what can be called textual interpretation. In the instances taken from the Qur'ān the number of *sūras* and *āyas* is put in brackets. For the *ḥadīths* of Biblical origin, I refer to my paper "Biblical Figures in ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*", *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Edward Mahler*, Budapest, 1937, pp. 263–99.

Lion. Fleeing from a lion which is in a place where it cannot be seen: the dreamer will be saved from his fear and acquire wisdom (26 : 20).—Camel. Acquiring camels: reward and excellent security in matter of religion (88 : 17). Male camels: bad actions (7 : 38, 77 : 32–3). Leading cattle

to pasture settlement of difficulties and felicity (16 5-6)—Man. Baby in arms iniquity (19 28) Child attained puberty fortitude and good news (12 19) Woman year (2 223) Adulteress increase of prosperity and well being, according to a *hadith* of Muhammad During the night of the *mi raj*[1] the world presented itself to me as a woman with both arms bare to whom I said I have divorced you three times —Cattle Fat cattle years of abundance meagre cattle years of indigence if they are white or black (12 47 ff) If however they are yellow or red and beat the trees with their horns and knock down houses with them seditions in that place according to a *hadith* In the end of time there will be seditions like the horns and eyes of beasts —Locust the army of God locusts being one of the miracles worked by Moses for punishing the Egyptians[2] Passage of locusts over the dreamer he will be rewarded by God for what he has lost according to the story of Ayyub (Job)[3]—Field rat seizing it or seeing it enter the dreamer s house departure from that place (34 15) Camel pilgrimage to Makka (16 7) beauty (16 6)—*Jinn* Teaching them the Qur an authority and power (72 1) As to folly losing one s wits riches according to a poetical quotation Woe to him to whom Fortune is sober! usury (2 276) entering Paradise according to a *hadith*—Ass written book of knowledge (62 5) means of sustenance (2 261) man of perfect erudition or a Jew (62 5) Possessing or mounting asses and mules advantages from riches or a son (16 8) Bray evil and misery (31 18) calamity on the part of tutelar genii for its bray was regarded as the sign of the ass seeing Satan and a *hadith* exhorts to seek Allah s protection from Satan on hearing an ass bray —Serpent Struggling with a serpent which wants to bite the dreamer he will struggle with one of his enemies (2 36) Seizing it

[1] The night when the Prophet was transported to Heaven
[2] Cf *Exodus* x
[3] Cf *The Book of Job*

without fear: domination and victory, because Mūsā (Moses) prevailed over Pharaoh with a serpent.[1]—Animal. Skins: houses for those acquiring them (16 : 82).—Mole. Seeing it together with a dead man's corpse: this person is in Hell (32 : 14).—Swine. Pork: illegal property (2 : 168).—Horse: prosperity; abundance; victory (3 : 12; 8 : 62).—Hen. Eggs: women (37 : 47). Ibn Sīrīn interpreted a woman's dream about her laying eggs under timber and chickens coming out of them that she was a sort of procuress (37 : 47; 63 : 4).—Cock: slave, because the cock was a hostage for the bird *madraj* sent by Nūḥ to get an account of the deluge, but it never returned, and from that time on the cock has served for a pledge like a slave and has been prevented from flying.—Fly: perverse actions and the fall into a blamable state (22 : 72).—Red ants: descendants (7 : 171).—Wolf: accusation of an innocent man (12 : 17).—Starling: legally acquired nourishment, because it considered illegal every nourishment and beverage when Allāh expelled Ādam from Paradise and did not take any to him before Allāh had mercy upon him again.—Quail: ingratitude for good actions, loss of a position, insufficiency of means of subsistence (2 : 58).—Fish. If their number exceeds four: riches and booty (16 : 14). Baked fish: the dreamer's prayer will be fulfilled, because Īsā's (Jesus) prayer was fulfilled by the present of a baked fish on his table. Large fish: oath (68 : 1); place of adoration of pious people and the mosque of the devout because Jonah praised the glory of God in its belly[2]; sorrow, exigence, loss of a position, arrival of vengeance, because its flesh was declared illegal on Saturdays,[3] but people disobeyed His order and became worthy of His curse for it. Fish of Jonah: security for a timid man, riches for a poor man, and relief for one in distress, according to the story of Jonah; Joseph's prison; the Cave; the Raqīm: Noah's furnace.—Shell-fish. If the dreamer has no pregnant wife

[1] Cf. *Exodus* vii, 8–13.
[2] Cf. *Jonah* ii, 3–10.
[3] Cf. *Leviticus* xi, 10–12.

and has an unstrung pearl in his hand: he will get a slave-boy (52 : 24).—Frog: devout and zealous man obedient to Allāh, because it poured water on the fire prepared by Nemrod for Abraham. Many frogs: torture (7 : 130).[1]—Bird: action (17 : 14); precaution and exhortation (36 : 18). Feathers: rank and dignity, according to the proverb, "Such a one flies with another's wings." Means of sustenance, according to a poetical quotation, "Fortune is a bird loved by all people and for which all kinds of snares are put." Bird talking to a dreamer: his position will be raised (27 : 16).—Calf. Roast veal: preservation from danger (11 : 72–3).—Leeches: children (96 : 2). Abū Bakr interpreted a dream about coagulated blood with reference to the same Qur'ānic passage, that it indicated instant death for the dreamer, which happened accordingly.—Spider. Its web: weakness in religion (29 : 40–2).—Raven: digging of earth and interment (5 · 34). Raven at the king's gate: the dreamer will commit a crime of which he will repent very soon (5 : 34).—Sheep and goats. Sheep: woman; killing one: he will ravish a happy woman (38 : 22).—Turtle-dove: man practising religious duties, abstaining from the world, reciting the Qur'ān, praising Allāh and pronouncing *Lā ilāh ill' Allāh* (17 : 46).—Horse. Galloping lascivity (21 : 13). Riding a horse: honour, reputation, and riches for the rider, according to the *hadīth* "The good is tied to the toupets of horses." Horse with a white spot on its front and a white hind-leg: science, piety religion, with reference to another *hadīth*.—Hippopotamus person with a companion; drinking its water separation from his companion (2 : 47). Walking in sea by a dry path · safety from fear (20 : 79–80).—Elephant. If a king mounts an elephant and is engaged in war: he will die (105).—Ram man of noble valour, because it served as a ransom for Ismā'īl.[2]—Dog: incredulity or despair of

[1] Cf. *Exodus* viii, 1–15.

[2] Cf *Genesis* xxii, 1–13, where it was Isaac for whom a ram served as a ransom

God's clemency (7 : 175). Hunting dog: kingdom, position of wālī (5 : 6). Becoming a dog: prudence which he will forget (7 : 174–5). A dog signifies a weak enemy for it has not the nature of beasts of prey. Once an enemy, it became a friend; according to the story of Adam when he was cast down to earth.—She-camel. Its flesh: accomplishment of a wish (3 : 87). Flesh of killed beast: means of sustenance (16 : 5–7). Cutting its hamstrings: he will repent of an affair which has caused him unhappiness (26 : 157). She-camel entering a town: sedition (54 : 27).—Bee. Honey: recovery from illness (16 : 71). Licking honey: marriage, according to a saying of the Prophet: "You will taste his sperm and he will taste your sperm," these words being said to a woman of high rank.—Vulture. Vulture quarrelling with the dreamer: a sulṭān will be angry with him and will illegally act against him, because Solomon made it his lieutenant over the birds, and they feared it. Possessing a vulture flying with the dreamer and he does not fear it. he will obtain a high rank and become an audacious oppressor.[1] The Jews interpret vultures as prophets and pious people, because in the Torah[2] these latter are compared to vultures whose country is known and which cover their little ones with their wings and nourish them. Vultures: heresy and deviation from the right path of Islām (71 : 23–4).—Ewe. cares, thoughts, and the loss of spouses; cessation of one's rank (38 : 22).—Hoopoe: calculating and crafty man who informs the sulṭān of what people say, because it told Solomon of Bilqīs.[3] Hoopoe talking to the dreamer. he will get riches from a sulṭān (27 : 22).—Turtle-dove. news and prophets, because it informed Noah of the abatement of the water when it was in the ark.[4]—Bat: administration of evident proofs and arguments (5 : 110).

[1] Cf. the narrative concerning Nemrod in vol. ii, pp. 411–12.

[2] Cf. *Deuteronomy* xxxii, 11, the corresponding Hebrew word נֶשֶׁר meaning "eagle".

[3] Cf. the narrative in vol. ii, p. 329, l. 31, to p. 331, l. 20.

[4] Cf. *Genesis* viii, 8–12.

(5) *Interpretation Based on Numerical Symbolism*

This is also a specifically Arab method. It is founded on the numerical value of the letters of the Arabic alphabet: the numerical values of the letters composing a word added together amount to a sum which can be employed for interpreting dreams.

In the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* are two instances. Cock. Somebody dreamed that a cock admonished people to prepare shrouds for its master, whereupon Ibn Sīrīn foreboded that he would die in thirty-four days because the numerical values of the letters of the word *dīk* added make thirty-four. Similarly, another man dreamed of a cock crying three times *Allāh*, whereupon Ibn Sīrīn foreboded that this man would die in three days.—Cat, civet-cat. Ibn Sīrīn once interpreted a woman's dream of a civet-cat putting its head into the belly of her husband and extracting a bit of it, that 316 *dirhams* would be stolen from her husband, which was derived from the numerical values of the letters of the word *sinnaur* (cat): a slave was suspected of the theft and avowed it.

442.

The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt

BY PAUL KAHLE

AT the beginning of this century shadow plays were sometimes performed in Egypt, but not very often. They had latterly become chiefly an entertainment for the lower classes, and because of the drastic comedy of these plays the Government took steps to suppress them. But we know that these shadow plays had a long history in Egypt, and have been performed also for the higher and highest classes. It is reported,[1] for instance, that the well-known Sultan Saladin (died 1193) with his Wazir al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, was present at the performance of those plays; that the Turkish Sultan Selīm I, who in 1517 conquered Egypt, amused himself by seeing a performance of the shadow play. In recent times, the Khedive Taufīq Pasha (1879–1892) liked to see such representations. I myself possess some shadow play figures especially made for performances before him.[2]

There are many notes by the Egyptian historians of the Mamlūk period which show us that these performances were common. Ibn Iyās, for instance, reports several times about these plays. We hear that Sultan Chakmak (1438–53) gave orders that all figures of the shadow play were to be burnt (Ibn Iyās, ii, 33). A Muslim is not allowed to see representations of living creatures. In 1498 the Sultan Abu's-Sa'ādāt Muḥammad enjoyed the good jokes to be found in the representations of Abu'l-Khēr (Ibn Iyās, ii, 347). In 1517, Selīm was so interested in the shadow play that he took one of the shadow players with him to Stambul for the entertainment of his son, the later famous Sultan Sulaimān the Magnificent (Ibn Iyās, iii, 125).[3]

[1] Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāli' al-budūr*, i, 78 f., also quoted by Ibn Ḥijje, *Thamarāt al-aurāq*, cf. G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland*, Hannover, 1925, p. 52.

[2] Cf. P. Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattentheaters in Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 2, Anm. 1.

[3] Cf. Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters* . . ., p. 102 f.

I had the good fortune when I was staying in Egypt (1903–1908) to find a manuscript on shadow plays written about 1700, and was able to show that the poets who had contributed to these poems lived in the sixteenth century The last of these poets Da ūd al Manawı had the opportunity to give representations of the shadow play to the Turkish Sultan Aḥmad I in Adrianople in the winter of 1612–1613 [1]

In the year 1909 I discovered very important shadow play figures in a little village in the Delta of Egypt which are of a very superior style and belong to the best examples of Mamlūk art [2] As a Mamluk weapon is found on some of these figures it can be proved that at least the figures with the Mamlūk weapon must date from the first half of the fourteenth century [3] From no other country have we shadow play figures of that date and therefore these Egyptian figures are the oldest existing in the world

But from Egypt we have also some very old shadow play texts They were composed by Muhammad Ibn Danıyal (died 1311) an oculist in Cairo who lived at the time of the Sultan aḍ Dahır Baibars in the thirteenth century These texts are very closely associated with the name of my friend the late Professor Georg Jacob of Kiel one of the most original of Orientalists who broke new ground in many different spheres and who in particular did much pioneer research work in connection with the shadow theatre both in the Orient and the Occident

A reference made by the Munich Orientalist Marcus

[1] Cf my publications *Zur Geschichte des Schattentheaters* Leipzig 1909 p. 16 f *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria Ein arabisches Schattentheater aus dem mittelalterlichen Ägypten* Stuttgart 1930 pp 4*–8* Cf *Das Krokodilspiel (li b et timsâḥ) ein egyptisches Schattenspiel Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* Göttingen 1915 Nachtrag 1920

[2] Cf my publication Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten, *Der Islam* vol. i (1910) pp. 264 299 ii (1911) pp 143–195 cf *Orientalisches Archiv* iii (1912) pp. 103 ff

[3] The weapon is that of a jamdār and as L. A Mayer of Jerusalem, told me figures with this weapon cannot be older than 1290 and not later than 1370 Cf *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria*, p 10*

Joseph Müller, first drew his attention to Ibn Dāniyāl, and Müller's transcript of part of the Escorial manuscript formed the background for Jacob's study of the work. His first publication on Ibn Dāniyāl appeared in 1901,[1] and as his last work, of which I know, dates from 1935, he was working on these texts for about thirty-five years of his life.

In the preface to the second edition of his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland* (Hannover, 1925), he claims that it is of the greatest importance that the works of Ibn Dāniyāl should be published in their entirety, and he describes him as the most witty and amusing poet in the Arabic language (" wohl des geistreichsten und launigsten Dichters arabischer Zunge ") (loc. cit., p vf.). In this judgment, he is certainly right. Ibn Dāniyāl is, in fact, an extremely witty, literary, and cultivated man, with a sense of humour which is unique in Arabic literature. His works are, without question, of great importance for the understanding of Islamic civilization in Egypt during the Middle Ages, especially the thirteenth century When we realize that in these works we possess the only surviving examples of Arabic dramatic poetry of the Middle Ages, their unusual importance is unquestionable. They are worthy of all the time and care which Jacob bestowed on them.

But Jacob calls Ibn Dāniyāl the most difficult Arabic author, and states that his works require a translation and a commentary (" aber auch des schwierigsten arabischen Schriftstellers, der Uebersetzung und Sachkommentar erheischt "). This comment is also well founded. These texts are written partly in artificial rhymed prose, partly in verse, and remind one in their general style of al-Ḥarīrī, to whom Ibn Dāniyāl makes several references. But while we have excellent commentaries on al-Ḥarīrī which help us to an understanding of his Maqāmas, we have no such aids to Ibn

[1] *Muhammad ibn Dāniyāl, Al-Mutaiyam, ein altarabisches Schauspiel für die Schattenbühne bestimmt*, Erste Mitteilung über das Werk, von Georg Jacob, Erlangen, 1901.

Dāniyāl, and while we possess excellent manuscripts of al-Ḥarīrī's Maqāmas, the three existing manuscripts of the work of Ibn Dāniyāl, of which two (the Escorial and the Stambul MSS.) were written about 200 years after the author, and the third (the Cairo MS.) about 300 years, make it clear that their transcribers have often misunderstood the text.

Jacob had already told me some years ago that he would be unable to complete his work on Ibn Dāniyāl, and that he wished to bequeath his material on this subject to me. Thus, in accordance with the terms of his will, I came into possession of these materials, and was entrusted with the task of completing this work.

Jacob's preliminary work on these texts was considerable. Apart from his many publications on the subject,[1] a great number of transcripts and translations were found in his legacy on which I could base my work. I started working on the text at the end of October, 1937, and was in one particular more fortunate than Jacob. He tried to understand these texts alone, even though he enjoyed the occasional co-operation of eminent Orientalists such as Nöldeke, Goldziher, de Goeje, Snouck Hurgronje, and others, whose comments he carefully incorporated in the notes to his translation. I, on the other hand, was able to enjoy the co-operation of an outstanding Arabic scholar in my work on these texts, Professor Taqī-addīn al-Hilālī, born in Morocco, studied in Fez, lived for some time in Egypt, and for several years in al-Ḥijāz. From there he was engaged by Sulaimān an-Nadwī for his College "Nadwat al-'Ulamā" in Lucknow, where for three years he lectured in Arabic on Arabic literature. He was then working for some years in a similar capacity in Baṣra, and from there he came to Bonn. He is a truly critical scholar, particularly conversant with Arabic literature, and I think that with his help I have come to a considerably better understanding of these difficult texts than Jacob.

[1] Mentioned in the "Bibliographie" in his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, p. 230 f.

I have transcribed the complete text afresh, have collated it throughout with the photographs of the three manuscripts, have carefully checked Jacob's translations, and have myself translated all the parts left untranslated by him. I have mostly elucidated some remaining doubtful passages after a survey of the complete text, for it was now possible for the first time to make a real survey of the whole material.

This material is fairly voluminous. In the Stambul manuscript, dated 828/1424 (Hekimoglu-Ali-Pasha 648, now Millet kütübhanesi), which is written in a fairly wide-spaced hand, and contains passages not existing in the other manuscripts, there are 364 pages. In the more closely written Escorial manuscript, dated 845/1441 (Casiri 467, Derenbourg 469), there are 126 pages. In the Cairo manuscript, which belonged to the library of Aḥmed Pāshā Taimūr, there are 134 pages, but this manuscript has a great lacuna.

Jacob has written in such detail about the contents of the three plays in his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters* . . ., pp. 56–101, that I need say very little on this subject. The first play, called "Ṭaif al-Khayāl", gives a splendid picture of the political and cultural conditions in Egypt at the time of the Sultan aḍ-Ḍāhir Baibars. The second play, "'Ajīb wa-Gharīb", brings in the many types of the Fair, who enter one after another, and very humorously describe their trades. This play has been made known through the excellent publication on an Egyptian Fair in the thirteenth century, brought out by G. Jacob in 1910, in the *Transactions of the Munich Academy*.[1] The third play, "al-Mutaiyam," concerns the love of Mutaiyam for Yutaiyim, and interestingly introduces cock-fighting, ram-fighting, and bull-fighting.

It is still a question whether it will be possible to publish the complete text without curtailment. Even Jacob was doubtful on this point. The text of Ibn Dāniyāl contains a number of passages which do not suit our taste, and which

[1] "Ein ägyptischer Jahrmarkt im 13. Jahrhundert," *Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1910, 10. Abhandlung.

might give offence even in the East. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why the work of Ibn Dāniyāl has been almost forgotten in the Orient. However, even with certain parts omitted, there would remain much which is of delightfully humorous and of great literary and sociological value. One might ask in all seriousness whether these shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl are not artistically greater than the Maqāmas of al-Ḥarīrī. He is certainly much superior to the latter in the variety of his subject-matter. That Orientals also understood the social value of these poems is proved by the fact that the Egyptian Chronicler, Ibn Iyās, considered that he could give no better idea of conditions in the time of the Sultan aḍ-Ḍāhir Baibars than by including in his chronicle the delightful Funeral Ode on Iblīs, Abū Murra, the Devil, in which Ibn Dāniyāl humorously describes the changed conditions in Egypt since the sharp Prohibition of the Sultan, which caused all taverns and brothels to be closed.[1]

There are several indications in his work that the author Ibn Dāniyāl came from Moṣul, and there is no doubt that he was a doctor. In the prefatory note to the Cairo manuscript he is described as an oculist (*kaḥḥāl*). This is certainly correct. In the second play, in which the different types of the Fair appear, one of the characters is Miqdām al-Āsī, the go-ahead fellow, the doctor. In his speech he mentions a great many instruments which no one who is not an expert could possibly distinguish. I sent a copy of this passage to Dr. Max Meyerhof, the well-known oculist and scholar in Cairo, and asked him if it were possible to identify the different instruments. He wrote to me:

"I am delighted that you are wanting to publish Ibn Dāniyāl, my old colleague. The task is exceedingly difficult, as even the transcribers have often misunderstood the text, so that their work abounds in faults. I think I can conclude

[1] Ibn Iyās, i. 107. Jacob has published the text with a German translation in my book *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria*, pp. ٥٥–٥٦, 73–6.

that Ibn Dāniyāl was, in fact, an oculist, as such names of instruments and operations are not usually found among general practitioners."

One more word in connection with the language of Ibn Dāniyāl. The text is written for the most part in classical Arabic, the rhymed prose as well as the poetry, which consists mostly of *Qaṣīdas*. But in the three plays there are also a number of verses, the *Muwashshah's* as well as *Zajals*, *Mawāliyās*, *Dū Baits* and children's poems, which are entirely or partly in the vulgar. These poems composed in vulgar Arabic in the thirteenth century are among the oldest of their kind to survive to this day.

In conclusion I will give a few excerpts of these texts, and will choose passages which Jacob has not yet translated or had incompletely translated. The first, from the second play in which appear the different types of the Fair, is the speech of the *Mashā'ilī*, the brazier-bearer, who carries a charcoal brazier on a long stick. It seems that in Egypt these people belonged to a gypsy-like Pariah caste who performed the most menial duties, cleansed the streets and privies, acted as flayers and executioners, but at the same time held certain police functions. The *Mashā'ilīs* are often quoted in Arabic texts of the time of the Mamlūks, and, for instance, in Quatremère's *Sultans Mamlouks*, there can be found many learned notes about these men. But it is only in this poem that all their different duties are mentioned. Jacob, after giving a general description, observes in this connection: "Das lange Lied des Meschā'ilī wird nur bei genauerer Kenntnis dieser Zunft in allen seinen Teilen verständlich werden" (*Geschichte des Schattentheaters . . .* p. 81). It reads as follows :—

"Enter Jammār, the *Mashā'ilī* of the *Maḥmal*. He has decorated his brazier (*mash'al*) with all kinds of fragrant flowers, struts around in his place (*maidān*), boasts of his superiority to his contemporaries, and recites :—

By the smoke of the brazier and its kindled light,
And its perfume which pours forth, putting to shame the perfume of the aloe-wood,
On a shaft of cane (*asal*), whose like is not to be found even among lances (*asal*),
A brazier shining forth with fire, flaming aloft like a waving flag,
None can compare with us in our knowledge and our trade.
We are the noblest among men, not niggardly with our possessions.
Our fires are shining afar over the plain and the mountain.

How many a governor boasts of us when he has obtained his post.
People respect him when we stand at his house door,
Protecting him against enemies so that he has nothing to fear.

How many wanderers have we led in the dark of a dangerous night,
With gleaming light shining in the darkness,
Braziers, as if they were fresh water-lilies,
Or resembled the sun's globe in its rising and its setting,

We who belong to all kinds of the poor, whose tongue is like a sword,
Sweet in speech and trifling, whose words are like honey,
Who wander through the market tirelessly collecting taxes.

We address the Muslim, humbly begging: Highly honoured Sir,
Oh candle of the market, oh light of the pupil of the eye-ball,
Grant me that to which you have accustomed me, by the most honoured master 'Ali,
Do not say to me: "Away!" Do not dismiss me as a miserable wretch.

Give to me! May God compensate you with gifts in return.

(Curses against him who does not give.)

When a Christian comes of high standing,

We say: Oh priest of all churches and places of worship,

By Mary the Virgin, the Mother of the crowned Son,

By Peter, the first head of the Church of God,

And by Mark, who occupied the throne before the (Christian) dynasties,

I mean by that the Alexandrian Patriarch, when he received his office,

By John, by Luke, and the noble Matthew,

By Andrew, who came as successor to the Apostles,

By Bartholomew or by Thaddeus the Apostle,

By the respect for Simon and Thomas, to whom the greatest honour is due,

By Paul with the disciples, who carried on the mission,

By the stringing of pearls, found in his book of the Epistles,

By the martyrs, slaughtered in glorious martyrdom,

Bestow a favour on me, and be generous to me, oh my hope, oh my hope!

(Curses against him who does not give.)

And when there comes a Jew, distinguished, skilled in debate,

Then we say: You who are a jewel among Jews,

Oh! light of the Sabbath of the Synagogue, by the Primeval, by the Eternal,

By the scion of Moses, who was addressed by God, the Lord of Religions,

By the Ten Commandments, revealed to him on the mountain,

By the text of the Thora Bereshit for the intercession,

And by the Haphṭaras, whose meaning is not unknown,

By the family of Jacob and Israel and the intercession,

Bestow on me a favour with a red copper penny,
Like a glowing coal in my brazier,
And do not say to me "Away!" and do not delay like a miser.
You think perhaps that I am a boor. No, by 'Alī! No by 'Alī!
(Curses against him who does not give.)

So it is, and of how many sewers have we not emptied the bottom with the mattock,
As though we were doing the work of the aperient remedy in their interior.
Our trade is a laudable one, where the sewer is like a full belly.
And when you find one who is led around like a criminal on an ass with a white hind-foot,
Whose eye weeps, as though it had been rubbed with pepper,
Then we strike his neck with whips,
We cry with a voice which shocks even the deaf:
That is the reward of the man who says what he does not do.

And when we act as criers, how often have we ordered people (by order of the Government) what they should do in the future,
You people who have assembled, do so and so, but he who does not do it,
Let him not be surprised at what he shall receive (as punishment) from him, who instructed me (the Emir).
In the same way we cry out when a man has lost something.
He who directs us to it, we grant him a gift,
And God's reward, oh honourable gracious Sirs.

And we flay the skin from the carcase, whether it be from bullock or from camel,

So that it may act as a protection against harm for the feet,
And you see no men who are not provided with shoes.

And how many of the crafty people have we punished with flogging, robbers of all kinds, who come by night like approaching disaster,
Who in their cunning know the house better than its owner.
Such a man climbs up to the house like a travelling star,
Enters lightly by its narrow side, like a sustained breath,
With courageous heart, without fear because of his cunning,
He creeps slowly into the house like an ant,
Comes to the sleepers in the middle of the night, soft as a Zephyr,
Till his protective covering fails him.
We seize him so that he is like a chained horse.
Sometimes we sever his hand from the wrist,
And sometimes we hang him on the cross, when he is guilty of murder.

And in playing with dice we are as famous as a proverb.
They gleam in our hands like assembled jewels.
One man is at peace (has won), he sweeps it together, that for himself, that for me.
From the other they have taken everything, so that he must despise himself,
Saying : Oh, had I been satisfied with my first winnings !
And how often have I thought that I would never lose my position !
As if they (the dice) were lucky stars in their changing influence over the dynasties.

And how much trade do we do with the best fresh plants,
Ḥashīsh of the colour of the down on a shining cheek,
Which is made into pills, perfumed with 'Anbar, spiced and roasted for us,

Or with Indigo (*nīla*) which is handed round in the beggar's bowl for those drunk with ḥashīsh.

We sell that to the people when it is cheap for the price of an ear of corn.

We are the sons of Sāsān, descended from their kings, who possessed golden ornaments.

Our qualities are these in detail and in general.

They are shortly related in a Qaṣida, which suffices and need be no longer.

Our might is on the peak of two mountains in Moṣul.

We are honoured there as the sun is honoured in the Zodiac of the Ram,

And I pray to God, as prays a suppliant, a petitioner,

That he may forgive these sins and the bad speech.

When he has set forth his qualities and filled his fodder bag he turns and departs."

The second and third extracts are taken from the First Play. The Emir Wiṣāl, the chief character, who has boasted to the people about his deeds, says that he intends to marry and to lead a regular life. He wants to see the marriage agent, and this woman is the old Umm Rashīd, the procuress.

"The Emir Wiṣāl says: My brother Ṭaif el-Khayāl, I have made up my mind to leave the path of profligacy and to do penance sincerely before God, and to serve God according to the rites of the Sunna and of the religious community. The hour of departure has come near, and only a short space of time remains. And I ask God to forgive me for my doubt and for behaving in the manner of the people of Lot. I have now decided to marry and to have issue, and to bring up children. So summon Umm Rashīd, the marriage agent (*khāṭiba*), even though she is one who goes out by night into the bush (*ḥāṭiba*). But she knows every honourable

woman and every adulteress and every beauty in Miṣr and al-Qāhira. For she lets them go out from the baths, disguised in servant's clothes, and guarantees the prostitutes for whom the police are looking in secret places, providing them with clothes and jewellery without fee. A worse procuress than a camel's halter, bringing them together better than an awl. A worse procuress than the dry clover for the geese in el-Fosṭāṭ, and better the union between two restoring than the pin of a tailor's scissors. She also knows how to deal in a friendly way with the hearts of lovers, and she sells the enjoyment of love only on the condition of trial. She does not break her promise, she does not haggle over a price. She does not visit a drinking bout in order to appropriate what drips down from the candles, nor does she ransack the clothes of the guests for money. And she does not take the fragrant flowers round the bottles, pretending it is to decorate the clothes of the sinning women. And she does not filch the pieces of meat from the plates, nor does she pour together what has cleared from the dregs of the wine. She does not exchange an old slipper for a new one, and she does not criticize the clothes of customers, as a housewife would do.

"Mostly she goes round the houses of the women of rank and sells balls of material, raw and bleached, and all kinds of spices and incense. She sells on credit and makes appointments for Thursdays and Mondays. And she does not haggle over a price. And she keeps her appointments even if it is the night of fate (*lailat al-qadr*). So it is, and her pocket is never empty of chewing-gum and mirrors and rouge and powder and Maghrabine nutmeg and powder for colouring the eyebrows and a lime preparation for the armpits and perfumed wool, and skin cream and 'Beauty of Joseph' and pomade and Barmakide scent and hair-dyes and violet scent. The devil kisses the ground before her daily, and he alone wakes her from her slumbers. So bring her to me and join my rope with her rope."

The third passage takes place after the death of Umm Rashîd. The Emir Wiṣâl wants to see the doctor under whose care she died. The doctor is called, and he says :—

"I appeal to God against the stoned Satan ! Who is it wandering around in the dark night ? Who is it who startles me from my bed in the sheltering night ? Who calls me from my slumber, when the food has scarcely been digested from my stomach, so that my strength has disappeared, and I nearly died of palpitations ? For it is not customary to call the doctor by night, unless one brings him a money cheque and harnesses mules and horses for him. It has not been customary since the days of the plague and the pestilence, when the sick were laid on the benches before the shops and there were crowds before our (the doctors') doors, while the servants with lamps in their hands were at work, and the corpses in the Mosques were laid in rows on the biers adorned like brides with precious jewellery, and the tears of the people never dried, and the readers of the Qur'ān were chosen where to go by lot. And the washers of corpses could not complete their washing, and the carriers were out of humour because of the weight of their burdens, and the grave-diggers showed respect for no grave, and spared neither that of the married woman nor that of the maiden. That plague spread over the whole land, and soul and strength were given no consideration. And the chicken for the soup of the sick had the value of a whole province, and medicines were not to be had, and purges could not be obtained at any price. May those days be remembered kindly ; for us they were like a dream (i.e. we did good business)."

So far the excerpts of these plays. I think that from them the importance of the texts will be seen. I am publishing the Arabic text of the plays in Leiden, the translation with the commentary will follow in a short time.

491.

Aparmānd

By R. C. Zaehner

(i) *aparmānd*

THE question of *aparmānd* once more becomes actual with the publication of Professor Herzfeld's *Altpersische Inschriften*. In that work, p. 247, the author suggests the meaning "Pflicht" or "Privileg" for ZāmN., § 41, differing but slightly from Bartholomae in meaning, but rejecting the latter's etymology *apar* + *mānd*, "something left over" in favour of a derivation from an (unattested) OP. loanword **mandā*-, "*Dienstpflicht" which he would read in Beh., § 40, in the place of *yadā*-. The continued existence of this **mandā*- must therefore largely depend on the correctness or otherwise of Herzfeld's interpretation of MP. *aparmānd*. A detailed examination of the evidence would therefore not be out of place.

The juridical meaning of our word was long ago fully discussed by Bartholomae (*zum sass. Recht*, V, pp. 3 ff.). He arrived at the conclusion that "special legacy" ("Sonderzuwendung an ein Familienmitglied," p. 19) must be the technical legal meaning. For the non-specialized usage he suggested "privilege" ("Vorrecht," p. 49), in which he was followed by Professor Nyberg (*Glossar*, p. 153, s.v. *must-aparmānd*), though he accepted Darmesteter's "héritage" (ZA., i, 87, n. 21) for certain passages in the Pahlavī Yasna (v. *infra*). We have reason to suppose that Darmesteter's translation, as so often, still holds good.

In juridical usage we find the word used only in connection with very near relations—of sons and daughters whether actual or adopted, wives, and once of brother and sister when wife and children are dead (MhD. 23.7, 8). A full list of references will be found in Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 3; cf. also Bulsara, *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*,

Bombay, 1937, p. 626. The fact that our word is only used of the nearest relations in legal passages makes one suspect that the meaning is after all "inheritance", rather than a special legacy. We will, however, confine ourselves in this article to the meaning of the word in non-legal contexts.

Two of these occur in the Pahl. Yasna and have already been dealt with by Bartholomae, op. cit., pp. 52–3. In both the translation is obviously "inheritance" which Bthl. admits here but denies elsewhere. The passages are Ys. 33.10, where *aparmānd i pitarān* glosses (*hužīvišnīh*) . . . . . *'kē-m 'būt 'hēnd* (Av. *yā̊ ånharə* as opposed to *yā̊sčā hənti yā̊sčā bavaintī*). The distinction is between good things inherited from one's fathers and those amassed by one's own efforts (*handōχt χ*ᵛ*ēš*). (ii) Ys. 9.7. *aβzārvīsīh ē 'būt 'ku-š χānak 'hač aparmānd i pitarān 'vas 'būt 'ut 'ān-ič i Dahāk 'pat stahmakīh 'apāč 'graft*, "his strength in property (?) was this that he possessed many houses as an heritage from his fathers, and that he also seized back that of Dahāk by violence." For the former the Skt. translation has *anyāgata-*, for the latter *anvaya-*.

Let us now turn to the Pahlavī passages proper. Perhaps the most interesting is Pahl. Texts, p. 82, l. 9 ff.: it is paralleled in DkM. 568.3-12, and the variants are noted below. The text is as follows :—

[1] *'ēn-ič 'gōβēnd 'ku 'čiš ⟨i⟩ gētēh 'pat 25 bahr 'nihāt 'ēstēt, 5 'pat* [2] *baχt, 5 'pat kunišn, 5 'pat hōk, 5 'pat gōhr, 'ut 5 'pat aparmānd.*

*zīvandakīh ⟨'ut⟩ 'zan 'ut frazand 'ut χ*ᵛ*atayīh 'ut χ*ᵛ*āstak* [3] *'pat* [4] *baχt.*

[5] *āsrōnīh 'ut artēštārīh 'ut vāstryōšīh 'ut kirpak 'ut bazak* [3] *'pat kunišn.*

[1] For *'ēn-ič . . . . 'ēstēt*, Dk. has *'ut 'gōβēnd 'ku hufravart Āturpāt i Mahraspandān 'hēr i gētēh 'pat 25 'dar 'būt* (read *'dāt*).

[2] Dk. *brāh*.

[3] Dk. adds *apērtar*.

[4] Dk. *brāh*.

[5] Dk. *ahrovīh 'ut druvandīh, āsrōnīh 'ut artēštārīh 'ut vāstryōšīh*.

[1] *'ō 'zanān 'šutan 'ut kār vičārtan 'ut 'χ^{v}artan ⟨'ut⟩ raftan ⟨'ut⟩ 'χuftan* [2] *'pat hōk.*

[3] *miθr 'ut āzarm 'ut rātīh 'ut rāstīh 'ut* [4] **aδarmēnišnīh* [2] *'pat gōhr.*

[5] *tan 'ut* [6] **brēh 'ut ōš 'ut vīr 'ut nērōk* [2] *'pat aparmānd.*

"This too they say: things on earth are divided into twenty-five parts. Five are through fate, five through action, five through nature, five through essence (character), and five through heredity.

"Life, wife, children, dominion, and wealth are through fate. The quality of priest, warrior and husbandman, virtue and vice are through action. Going in to one's wife, performing one's natural functions, eating, walking and sleeping are through nature. Affection, respect, generosity, righteousness and humility are through essence (character). Body, stature, mind, intelligence and physical strength are through heredity."

"Heredity" fits the context admirably. Body, that is physical appearance, stature, intellectual capacity and physical strength are exactly what we would expect to be attributed to hereditary factors. Moreover, our view is confirmed by a passage from the Persian Rivāyats which we cite below.

Further we have :—

DkM. 58.17. *āhang 'ō rāδēnītārīh i aparmānd 'ut χ^{v}atīh passačak ⟨'ō⟩ kartan i 'vazurg 'ut dūr-nāmīk-pattāy kār 'ut kirpak*: "desire to regulate one's inherited qualities and one's individual nature in conformity with the performance

[1] Dk. *'χ^{v}artan 'ut raftan 'ut 'ō 'zanān 'šutan 'ut būšāsp kartan 'ut kār vičārtan.*

[2] Dk. adds *apērtar.*

[3] Dk. *χēm 'ut miθr 'ut 'vēhīh ⟨'ut⟩ rātīh 'ut rāstīh.*

[4] Text *armēnišnih.*

[5] Dk. *ōš 'ut vīr 'ut tan ⟨'ut⟩ brēh 'ut dītan.* For the last word cf. MPT. *dydn*, "Erscheinung," Lentz, *Stellung Jesu*, p. 113, and Andreas-Henning, MirMan. III. In Pahlavī it is indistinguishable from *stūn*, "pillar."

[6] Pahl. Texts *bahr*: Dk. rightly *brēh*, "stature," as in Kn. 16.10 (p. 54, Āntiā); 17.15 (p. 57); DkM. 220.21.

of good actions which are great, enduring, and renowned." The contrast between *aparmānd* and *χ*ᵛ*atīh* is instructive.

The following two examples fit closely together, and are of importance; for it was in the latter that Bartholomae considered "Privileg" or "Vorrecht" the correct translation (op. cit., p. 48).

Pahl. Riv. 7.3. *'ān dāt 'i-š 'pat aparmānd frāč oviš mat, aš 'χ*ᵛ*at pat-iš vināskār 'nē 'bavēt:* "One is not to be held a sinner simply because of the law (religion) which one has received as an inheritance."

ŠGV. 10.45. *mən dīn nə q i pa awarmąd dōšiţ, bə q χ*ᵛ*āhast i pa χard u guwāī ōstyqtar u padīrašnītar:* "I did not merely choose the religion which I had inherited, but I desired that one which was most firm and acceptable in wisdom and testimony." The Skt. translation has rightly *pāramparya-*, "hereditary." Now that "heredity" or "inheritance" is the correct translation is borne out by a passage in the Introduction of Burzōē to the *Book of Kalīlah and Dimnah*. Burzōē says, "As I saw there are many religions and confessions, and again their adherents are of different kinds; *some inherited their religion from their fathers* . . . (ورثوها عن اٰبائهم in the Arabic text ed. le Père Louis Cheikho, S.J., *La version arabe de Kalîlah et Dimnah*, Beyrouth, 1905, p. ٣٣ ; cf. the translation of Th. Nöldeke in *Schriften der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*, 1912, p. 15, also Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 425).

The final proof of our argument is supplied by a passage from the Persian Rivāyat (Hormuzyār, ii, pp. 55–6), which serves as a gloss to the passage from the Pahl. Texts cited above. The portion relevant to this discussion runs as follows:—

مراین پنج از نسل گوهر بود — نه این پنج از راه اختر بود
هُش و ویر وفن با خرد نیز فهم — مراین پنج دانا چنین زد رقم
یقین دانی از شیر مادر بود — نکوتر اگر نیز بدتر بود
اورماند مادر ز اصل و نژاد — مراین را چنین نام دانا نهاد

"These five derive from *inherited nature*; these five do not proceed from the stars—mind, intelligence, skill, and wisdom, also understanding. Concerning these five a sage has written: 'Know for certain that they come from your mother's milk, whether they be good or bad.' A sage has called them the 'inheritance' (اورماند, *awarmānd*) from one's mother, from race and origin."

Thus we have the equation, Phl. *aparmānd* = Skt. *pāraṃparya* = Pers. نسل گوهر = Arab. وراث (cf. ورثوها above).

Once we have rid our minds of the idea that *aparmānd* means "privilege", the passages in DkM., pp. 229, 230, and 231, cease to be puzzling (cf. Bartholomae, op. cit., pp. 49–52). p. 229.3 says that men have two sorts of *aparmānd*, the one *baχtīk*, the other [Pahlavi] (written [Pahlavi], p. 230.10, *yuχtīk*, Bthl.). The former word, meaning presumably "predestined", is used of the heritage men derive from Gayōmart. The latter is extremely uncertain: one may perhaps think of Pāz. *vīnāχta*, ŠGV. 4.59, Skt. *guṇa-*, and *awāvīnāχtaī*, ibid., 5.59, Skt. *anaikya-*, though this too is not certain. After saying that the selfhood of Gayōmart is *aχ° i astōmand*, "corporeal existence" (229.15), the text continues (l. 21): *'ēn 'hast χ°atīh 'ut vīmand i baχtīk 'kē martōm* *'*hač bun* (text, *bun 'hač*) *aparmānd čēyōn χ°atīh i martōm aχ° i astōmand*—"this is the selfhood and definition of the predestined which is man's heritage from the beginning; for the selfhood of man is corporeal existence." Further, p. 230.10: *'ut 'hač* [Pahlavi] *čēyōnīh i martōm 'hač bun aparmānd ēvak tarsakāyīh, aδarīh 'andar dātār . . . 'ēn čēyōnīh 'pat aparmānd i 'hač-iš Mašyā*—"of the . . . (?) . . . that man has inherited from the beginning one is reverence, humility towards the creator . . . this quality is inherited from Mašyā." l. 14: *'ut 'an 'i-šān aparmāndīk čēyōnīh 'hač bun sūtōmand pur-patvandīh i 'ō fraškart . . . martōm 'ēn čēyōnīh 'pat aparmānd i 'hač-ič Siyāmak 'ut Fravāk*—"another of their inherited qualities from the beginning is their full and beneficial connection with the

Fraškart . . . men have this quality as an inheritance from Siyāmak and Fravāk." l. 20: *'an 'i-šān aparmāndīk čēyōnīh 'hač bun gēhān-varzītārīh 'ut gēhān-rāδēnītārīh* . . ., "another of their inherited qualities from the beginning is their tilling of the earth and their management of the earth." p. 231.2: *'ut 'ēn čēyōnīh 'pat bun aparmānd i *'hač* (text *'kē*) *(a)Srit 'ut Hōšang* . . ., "this quality is inherited from Srit (Θrita) and Hōšang." Finally the matter is summed up (ibid., l. 6): *'ōh-ič martōm 'pat 'ēn *4 aparmān⟨d⟩īk mātiyān čēyōnīh āsturānīh dānākīh 'hač Gayō(k)mart, 'ut aδarīh [i] 'hač *Mašyā 'ut *Mašyānē, 'ut sūtōmand patvandīh [i] 'hač Siyāmak 'ut Fravāk, 'ut gēhān-varzītārīh, gēhān-rāδēnītārīh [i] *'hač* (text *'kē*) **(a)Srit 'ut Hōšang*—" thus the nature of man is through these four inherited bases; piety and wisdom are from Gayōmart; humility is from Mašyā and Mašyāna; beneficial continuity is from Siyāmak and Fravāk; tilling the earth and management of the earth are from Srit and Hōšang."

The same meaning for *aparmānd* holds good for DkM. 869.14: *'apar χᵛatāyīh-aržānīkīh ⟨i⟩ Kay-Vištāsp 'vazurg hunar 'ut kartārīh rāδ yut-ič 'hač aparmānd*—" concerning the fact that Kay Vištāsp was worthy of kingship because of his valour and activity apart from his (right of) inheritance."

The following references in DkM. may be added: 246.14, 419.18, 21, and in the juridical sense 710.10, 749.2, 5.

ZāmN., § 41, must therefore be interpreted in the light of what has gone before. Again "inheritance" is suitable. *'har 'kas 'kē 'pat 'vat-kunišnīh i 'χᵛēš šāt 'bavēt, 'pat aparmānd 'dārēnd*—" (as to) all those who rejoice in their misdeeds, they put them down to heredity."

With the meaning of *aparmānd* established we can now proceed to the much debated *must-aparmānd*. Bartholomae (op. cit., pp. 53–6), whom Professor Nyberg (*Glossar*, p. 153) followed, took *must* as "fist" and the whole compound as a colloquial term for one "der das Vorrecht der Faust,

d.i. der rohen Gewalt zu haben glaubt, sich das Vorrecht anmasst, sein Wollen oder Meinen jeweils mit der Faust zu vertreten und durchzusetzen: Faustrechtler". Pagliaro (*Riv. Stud. Or.*, XI, 182), following Fr. Müller (SWAW. 136, 1897, vi, 9), emended to *must-*aframānak*, taking *must* rightly in the sense of "violence". The latest discussion of the word is that of Professor Herzfeld (*Altpersische Inschriften*, p. 248), who suggests "deserti ex officio, secessi ex servitute". This involves the double difficulty of attributing the meaning "officium, servitus" to *aparmānd*, a view that we are now unable to accept, and of assuming the existence of a third *must* < OP. *munθ-* which, though formally impeccable, is to my knowledge not elsewhere attested in MP. Our word occurs notably in Kn. 2.28 (Ântiâ, p. 9) and Mχ. 16.61: it is also found in DkM. 428.6, a passage of remarkable obscurity. The two former passages run as follows: (i) *'ēn-ič guft 'ēstēt 'ku 'hač 'ān 'kas must-aparmānd 'mā 'bāš 'kē yut 'hač 'avē 'nē vičārēt*; (ii) *must-aparmānd ut dušmēn šāt*. Pagliaro was right in pointing out that *must* is not the ordinary "complaint", but another word meaning "violence". To the examples adduced by him (loc. cit. GrBd. 217.6; Pahl. Texts, 73.15; cf. Nyberg, *Glossar*, loc. cit., and Herzfeld, loc. cit.), we may add the Dēnkart definition (M. 239.12) as *Frēhbūt 'ut Apēbūt*, "excess and deficiency," that is the opposite of *Patmān* "the mean", and Dd. 2.12, 14, where it is opposed to *āzātīh* (*āpātīh* ?). Now given that *aparmānd* means "inheritance, heritage, heredity", we get "whose heritage is violence" for *must-aparmānd*, or in simple English "hereditary enemy". In both the examples cited above such a meaning is eminently suitable. We must therefore translate: (i) "This too is said, 'Do not persist in your hereditary hostility to such persons as you cannot dispense with.'" What more natural advice for Pāpak to give to a scion of the House of Sāsān at a time when it is expedient for him to keep on good terms with his traditional enemy Ardavān, the Arsacid? Similarly: (ii)

"Thus during the ascendancy of the influence of the man of noble (free) will, the (qualities) which are proper to the Bounteous Spirit, (that is) wisdom, perfect thought, generosity, rectitude and the other virtues shine in all their brilliance, visible from afar in their ascendancy; and what little vice is in him, due to the contamination resulting from the onslaught of the Destructive Spirit, declines, and declining and waning disappears. But during the decline of his influence, his own great virtue also declines, and what little vice is in him gains ascendancy: and in his decline and waning and weakening and in the great ascendancy of vice, that little vice due to the contamination resulting from the onslaught of the Destructive Spirit, raises its neck.

"During the ascendancy of the influence of the sinful man of evil essence and evil origin, lust, robbery, anger, contempt, stinginess, falsehood, the qualities of Kay and Karap and the other vices proper to him gain ascendancy, and raging cast their smoke afar: what little virtue is in him declines and wanes, and during the prevalence (?) of vice disappears. But during the decline of his influence the rebellious vices proper to him decline and wane, and what little virtue is in him gains ascendancy. During the decline and waning of his vices and the ascendancy of virtue, what little virtue is in him raises its neck."

(iii) Dd. 36.3. *'pat χrat 'ut 'χ*ᵛ*arr* ⟨*i*⟩ *visp-ākās visp-tuvān dātār 'kē-š *harvisp dām 'dāt, 'ān i škast nōk 'apāč 'dāt, 'nē škast*[*an*] *bē andak huzārak*—"To the wisdom and glorious

bring the word that spreads abroad (?) on earth) of his coming as the messenger of Ohrmazd, of his being lord and judge of the world, and of his delivering all creatures from the Adversary." From these two examples one is tempted to translate "renown" or something similar, but DkM. 947.13 and 950.17 have *purr-uzrāh* (?) *drayāp i vēh-dēn*, "the all-pervading (?) sea of the good Religion." Ibid. 76.19 has *'pat duščihrīh kam-uzvāhīktar* (?) seemingly in contrast to *duščihrtar*. Finally our present passage demands something like "supremacy". The meaning would therefore seem to be "spreading abroad, pervasion, prevalence". At this stage it would be idle to seek an etymology, for the meaning cannot be regarded as fixed and five of the six signs that compose the word are ambiguous. Parth. *'zw'y-*, *'zw'st*, "hinausführen" is semantically unsuitable.

fortune of the omniscient, omnipotent creator who created all creation and recreated anew what was broken, no(thing) was broken save a little, a trifle."

(iv) DkM. 271.13. The views of certain sectarians are quoted: *'pat tan i pasēn martōm frahist druvand yāvētān dōšaχ^v^ īk hamāk-pātufrās 'bavēt*—" At the final body most men are damned and become eternal denizens of hell and subject to all punishments," to which the corollary is (l. 16): *huzārak-ič martōm i vahištīk*, " Few are the men who (become) the denizens of heaven."

(v) Ibid., 184.8. *mizd druvandān 'apar 'ān huzārak kirpak 'bavēt 'i-šān 'pat gētēh kart*—" The damned are rewarded for the few good works they performed on earth." Ibid., l. 11: *puhr i ahrovān 'apar huzārak vinās 'i-šān 'pat gētēh 'ō bun 'būt*—" The blessed are punished for the few sins they had to their charge on earth." (For *'ō bun būtan* cf. BSOS., IX, p. 583.)

(vi) ŠGV. 4.97. *vaš ānōiča ą χ^v^azāraa kərbaa yaš gəθīhā varzīt nə āgārihət*—" And there the few good works which he performed on earth are not rendered null and void."

The Skt. translation to the last passage is *hrasvatara*- and to ibid. 15.1 *stoka*-.

GrBd. 217.5, from which Professor Herzfeld obtained his " die einen genügenden Schatz an *kirpak* besitzen ", is no exception. The same meaning is satisfactory here also. *'pat 'sar[īh] ⟨i⟩ 'avē 'andar Pārs martōm 'bē apaχšēnd 'bē huzārak i 'pat Kāzarōn drayāh bār⟨ī⟩hā*—" At the end of that in Pārs men will be destroyed save for a few on the banks of Lake Kāzarōn." Cf. further Vd. 13.45, *hušnōsr čēyon āsrōk*, " easily satisfied like the priest," with the gloss *'ku 'pat huzārak 'apar 'pat rāmišn 'bē 'bavēt*, " For he is contented with a little."

Further references are :—Pahl. Riv. 15, e, 5 (p. 46), 49.14; GrBd.62.13, 219.3; DkM. 3.7, 56.16, 112.5, 145.13; ŠGV. 11.43. *χ^v^azār* is probably not connected.

439.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE FOUNDATIONS OF "RODERIC'S CASTLE" AT CORDOBA

Many beginners in Arabic probably read the historical extract entitled: " Roderic, Last of the Goths " in Thornton and Nicholson.[1] This section is from Aḥmad Al-Maḳḳari's work called: نَفْحُ الطِّيبِ مِنْ غُصْنِ الأَنْدَلُسِ الرَّطِيبِ which may be translated: *The Diffusion of Perfume from the Tender Branch of Spain.*

Our reason for referring to it is that in the interesting description[2] of the palace known as " Roderic's Palace " at Cordoba the meaning of one sentence of some importance is obscure.

The text relates that although this palace was known to the Arabs as " Roderic's ", yet it was not built by him but rebuilt by a previous Gothic ruler of Spain. This man, while out hawking, had found the ruins of a still earlier palace forsaken and overgrown in the forest where the ground was swampy. Struck by the appearance of the pile, he had it rebuilt as a royal residence for the kings of Spain.

On what authority Al-Maḳḳari (died A.H. 1041 = A.D. 1631) gives this story is not explicitly stated. The only information vouchsafed is: وَيَزْعُمُ العَجَمُ " the gentiles assert . . . "; but he is in the habit[3] of quoting earlier writers such as Ibn Ḥayyan, etc., so that his story may very possibly rest on quite early evidence.

[1] Thornton and Nicholson: *Elementary Arabic First Reading Book*, Section III, " Various Historical Extracts," pp. 68–82; taken from Wright: *Arabic Reading Book*, Part I, 1870, pp. 47–60; taken in turn from the works of Al-Maḳḳari published in 3 vols. by E. J. Brill at Leyden in 1856–60 under the title *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne par Al-Maḳḳari*. The extract referred to is in vol. i of the text, edited by Ludolf Krehl in 1856.

[2] Leyden Edn., vol. i, p. 160, l. 17—p. 161, l. 11 = Wright, p. 55, l. 14—p. 56, l. 21 = Thornton and Nicholson, p. 77, l. 13—p. 79, l. 3.

[3] H. A. R. Gibb: *Arabic Literature, An Introduction*, 1926, p. 114.

The description [1] of the traces of the palace which the Gothic king discovered may be translated as follows: "And he found it [*sc.* the palace] built from the face of the water with solid (blocks) of stone over زَرَجُون, (which were) set between them [*sc.* the stones] and the water after the most skilful workmanship."

According to this account, the palace was built over water (مَبْنِيًّا مِنْ وَجْهِ ٱلْمَآءِ), but this means "built *on marshy ground*" one would suggest, rather than on—or in—the Guadalquivir itself, if we are to put as much credence upon the story of the hawking as upon the account of the palace. Between the water and the stonework were زَرَجُون, placed in a very skilful way. And this is the crux of the problem, viz. what were the زَرَجُون?

On this word the Arabic lexicons decide as follows: Dozy [2] gives no translation but merely notes the variant vocalization زُرْجُون. Lane [3] gives as its meaning *wine*, the *grape vine*, *shoots of a vine*, or a *red dye*, or *stagnant water*. Freytag [4]

[1] فَوَجَدَهُ مَبْنِيًّا مِنْ وَجْهِ ٱلْمَآءِ بِصُمِّ ٱلْحِجَارَةِ فَوْقَ زَرَجُونٍ وُضِعَ بَيْنَهَا وَبَيْنَ ٱلْمَآءِ بِأَحْكَمِ صِنَاعَةٍ.

[2] *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes.*

[3] *Arabic-English Lexicon*: زَرَجُون also written زُرْجُون . . . signifies *wine* and is a Persian word, originally زرگون [i.e. زَرْگُون] meaning "gold-coloured"; or it signifies, or signifies also, the *grape vine*; . . . or *the shoots of a grape vine*; . . . or *a shoot that is planted of a grape vine*.—Also *a certain red dye*. And *Water that remains or stagnates*, or *collects*, or *remains long and becomes altered*, or *becomes yellow and altered*, *in a rock* or *clear water that remains* or *stagnates*, etc., *in a mountain*.

[4] Freytag: *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. زَرَجُون Chald. זרגון (*sic*) (sunt qui ex Persico زرگون ortam esse dicant vocem . . .) Vitis, *vel* vitis palmites. *Kam.*; Pers. . . . Aureus, auri colorem habens; Vinum *Kam.*; Aqua pluvialis, in scrobe petrae restagnans clare et limpida. *Kam.*; tum Res, qua tingitur, color rubicundus. *Dj.*

gives much the same series of meanings. Both Lane and Freytag (the former definitely, the latter hesitantly) derive the Arabic word from the Persian word زَرْگُوْن, having the meaning "gold-coloured".

In Aramaic[1] זַרְגּוּן (quoted by Freytag) means *vine-branch*, and so does the Syriac[2] ܙܪܓܘܢܐ with the additional meaning of *breastwork*.

Now several of these meanings for زَرَجُون can quite obviously be eliminated from consideration here, viz. *wine*, *red dye*, and (*stagnant*) *water*. This leaves us with only the meanings *grape-vine*, or *vine-shoots*.

It is *a priori* probable that, if the account is genuine, the method of building will have been one used by the Romans; because, if not built by the Goths, then it is almost certain that the palace must have been of Roman construction. Although Cordoba was reputedly founded by the Carthaginians,[3] it was colonized by the Romans as "Corduba" in 152 B.C.[4]; and before it fell to the Moors in A.D. 711, it had given the poet Lucan as well as the two Senecas to Latin Culture. The fact then of the Roman origin of this palace may be taken to be very probable indeed.

On this basis, and starting from the meaning of the Persian زَرْگُوْن = *gold-coloured*, Sir Charles Lyall has suggested[5]

[1] Levy: *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* über die Talmudim und Midraschim, nebst beiträgen von H. L. Fleischer: זַרְגּוּן, זַרְגּוּנָה m. (Syr. ܙܪܓܘܢܐ Arab. زَرَجُون, eig. von goldener Farbe; viell. jedoch mit hebr. שָׂרִיג verwandt) Weinranke.

[2] R. Payne Smith: *Thesaurus Syriacus*: ܙܪܓܘܢܐ Chald. זַרְגּוּן m. propago vitis, proles; it. lorica.

[3] Stated in *World Pictorial Gazetteer*, ed. Sir J. A. Hammerton, art. "Cordoba", pp. 317–18.

[4] *Chambers Encyclopædia*, 1901, art. "Cordova", vol. ii, p. 476.

[5] Suggestion contained in a footnote to the word زَرَجُون in Thornton and Nicholson's glossary, op. cit., p. 117.

that زَرْجُونٌ may be read with the meaning *yellow African Marble*, which (he says) was much used in Roman building. This suggestion does not seem to be satisfactory for two reasons: *firstly*, is it probable that a fine stone like marble would be used as a foundation? or that Al-Maḳḳari would say that *solid* blocks of stone were built on top of it, whereby he implies a contrast with something *not* solid? *Secondly*, neither in Arabic nor in the cognate languages Aramaic and Syriac does this word mean *yellow*—let alone *yellow marble*—but, in Arabic when used for a colour, it means *red*.

Can we find any explanation as to how the meaning *vine-branches*, or *branches* in general can be accepted in this passage? Fortunately there is a good parallel to what we are told of the foundations of "Roderic's Castle" at Cordoba in a stretch of the London–Holyhead main road near Cerrig-y-Druidion, about 50 miles from Holyhead. Here is to be found a huge bog popularly supposed to be bottomless, but the engineers of the old mail-coach road managed to build across it a roadway capable of taking even present day traffic. This was achieved by putting down stones and *faggots of wood* as a foundation.[1] The *Encyclopædia Britannica* states: "The mode of carrying a road across a bog upon a foundation of faggots or brush-wood is well known. In India native roads have been made equal to heavy traffic by laying branches of the mimosa across the track."[2]

This, it is suggested, is how the vine branches were used, viz. bound together as *fasces*, or woven into *crates* or lattice-work. The Syriac ܙܪܓܘܢܐ, as we saw above, can have the meaning "breastwork" (*lorica*); and these were often made of *crates*.[3] Nor are there lacking instances where

[1] Hugh Evans: *Cwm Eithin*, Liverpool, 1933, 2nd edition, p. 105: "buont wrthi am amser maith yn cario coed a cherrig i geisio rhoi gwaelod i'r ffordd" = "they worked for a long time carrying wood and stones, seeking to set a foundation for the road."

[2] 14th edition, vol. xix, p. 341. Art. "Roads and Streets."

[3] Caesar, B.G., V, 40: "pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur."

vitis = "vine-branch" is used instead of *vinea* = "the roof erected over the crew of a siege engine".[1] From this we might gather, perhaps, that vine-branches were woven together in some fashion into *crates*.

It now remains to find examples of this use of vine-branches, or any type of fascine, in Roman building. It will, of course, only be found where buildings are to be erected on boggy ground—although the Romans always laid the foundations of their buildings with very great care in all cases.[2] Those who wrote *de Re Rustica* usually advised strongly against building the "Villa Rustica" in a damp locality; and the only exception that Columella[3] will allow is that a house may be built in the *vicinity* of a river if it is a good distance away from the hills, and has no marshy ground near it. Much the same view was held by Varro,[4] and by Pliny.[5] On the other hand, Pliny's own villa at Laurentium was on the sea-shore[6]; and Horace[7] has several (sarcastic) references in his Odes to those pretentious palaces of the rich which even jutted out into the sea, built out on piles of rubble.

In spite of these opinions, we know that Ravenna, for

[1] Lucilius, 960–1: "neque prodire in altum, procliari sub vitem procul/ ὠμοτριβὲς oleum Casinas." *id.* 1349: "ut veles bonus, sub vitem qui *subicit* hastas uxori legata penus."

[2] Cf. Daremberg-Saglio: *Dict. des Antiquités Grec.-Rom.*, art. "Villa (rusticana)," vol. v, p. 880*b*: "Les soubassements des murs sont toujours établis avec le plus grand soin; la partie maçonnée repose sur plusieurs couches de moellons sans mortier, disposés souvent en arrête de poisson, et sur un lit épais de blocaille; le tout est destiné a protéger les murs contre l'humidité." Cf. also Cato: *de Re Rustica*, xiv, 4; Palladius: *de Re Rustica*, I, viii–ix.

[3] *de Re Rustica*, I, iv, 4–6: "sin summotus longius a collibus erit amnis et loci salubritas, editiorque situs ripae permittet superponere villam profluenti, cavendum tamen erit, ut a tergo potius, quam prae se flumen habeat. . . . Nec paludem quidem vicinam esse oportet aedificiis; . . . quod illa caloribus noxium virus eructat . . ."

[4] *de Re Rustica*, I, xii, 1–2.

[5] Lib. xviii, 6.

[6] Ep. ii, 17.

[7] Odes, III, i: contracta pisces aequora sentiunt/iactis in altum molibus; huc frequens/caementa demittit redemptor/cum famulis dominusque terrae/fastidiosus. . . . Cf. op. cit., II, xviii, 17 ff.; III, xxiv, 1 ff.

instance, was built on marshy ground near, though not on, the sea-shore; and so were other towns in Italy. Vitruvius [1] testifies to the healthiness of these places, and gives instructions [2] for building in such localities. He says: "If solid (ground) is not to be found, but the site be just a heaped up mass (*congesticius*) to the bottom, or marshy, then this site should be dug out and cleared and consolidated (*configatur*) with poles of alder, olive or scorched oak, and the stakes should be driven in by machines as close together as possible, and the interstices of the stakes filled up with charcoal. Then the foundation may be built on with the most solid of structures." And in another passage, dealing with the properties of timber, the same author says [3]: "In marshy sites, (alder) fixed by driving in piles close together beneath the foundations of buildings will remain undecayed . . . and hold the immense weight of the building. . . . So especially is Ravenna to be thought of, because there all public and private works have stakes of this kind beneath their foundations."

Here we have unmistakable evidence that buildings of all types were regularly built on marshy spots. It seems, however, probable, though not certain, that Vitruvius has piles in mind rather than fascines.

For more explicit and undeniable references to the filling up of boggy places with fascines we must turn from the strictly architectural writers to those who deal with military

[1] *de Architectura*, I. iv, 11.

[2] Op. cit., III. iv, 2: "sin autem solidum non invenietur sed locus congesticius ad imum aut paluster, tunc is locus fodiatur exinaniaturque et palis alneis aut oleagineis aut robusteis ustilatis configatur, sublicaeque machinis adigantur quam creberrime, carbonibusque expleantur intervalla palorum et tunc structuris solidissimis fundamenta impleantur."

[3] Op. cit., II. ix, 10 11: "(alnus) in palustribus locis infra fundamenta aedificiorum palationibus crebre fixa . . . permanet immortalis . . . et sustinet inmania pondera structurae . . . est autem maxime id considerare Ravennae, quod ibi omnia opera et publica et privata sub fundamenta eius generis habent palos." Cf. Faventinus: *Liber Artis Architectonicae*, 297, 20.

affairs. In at least two passages Tacitus [1] speaks of filling up ditches with *crates* or fascines; but the writer who makes most mention of their use in this way is Caesar.

Two examples should suffice for our purpose, the first from the *de Bello Gallico*,[2] and the second from the *de Bello Civili*.[3] In the former passage, Labienus is engaged in operations around the Seine, and in order to bring his force to bear against one of the enemy towns it is necessary to cross the swamp which surrounds it. This he seeks to do by filling up the swamp with fascines and an earthwork (*cratibus atque aggere*). Labienus did not, however, meet with such unqualified success as attended the efforts of Afranius in Spain during the Civil War. When the proper bridge over the river had been swept away owing to the force of the wind and the stream, Afranius re-established contact with the camp on the opposite side of the river by means of an earthwork and fascines (*aggere atque cratibus*). The strength and solidity of this structure is demonstrated by the fact that three legions with cavalry crossed the river by these means.

To seek for more instances of this kind would be superfluous. It may be readily admitted that not one of the passages quoted proves conclusively that the Romans built palaces in swamps on bundles of vine-branches; we must accept the castle of Roderic at Cordoba as something out of the ordinary, just as the Arabs considered it to be. But by the partial

[1] Ann. I, 68: "proruunt fossas, iniciunt crates." Op. cit., IV, 51: "virgultis et cratibus et corporibus exanimis complere fossas."

[2] B.G. VII, 57–8: "Is cum animadvertisset, perpetuam esse paludem, quae influeret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur." Cf. id., VII, 79: "proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggero explent."

[3] B.C. I, 40: "subito vi ventorum et aquae magnitudine pons est interruptus et reliqua multitudo equitum interclusa. Quo cognito a Petreio et Afranio ex aggere atque cratibus, quae flumine ferebantur, celeriter suo ponte Afranius, quem oppido castrisque coniunctum habebat, legiones III equitatumque omnem traiecit duabusque Fabianis occurrit legionibus."

parallels cited from Latin literature the probability of the explanation here put forward has been sufficiently shown; and the possibility of the truth of the story as Al-Makkari tells it has been strengthened.

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ANOTHER "PROPHETIC" LETTER

(PLATE I)

When about the year 1850 a document apparently written for Mohammed was discovered by Barthélemy in Egypt, the matter attracted a good deal of attention. One can read particulars of the find in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1854 in a letter communicated by Belin. Subsequently a notice by Rödiger appeared in the *ZDMG.* for 1856. At the time opinion was inclined to allow for the possibility that the document might be genuine.

The new letter has less chance of recognition. In the interval since the first was published, the view has steadily been gaining ground that Mohammed never in fact sent the letters to Byzantium, Persia, Egypt, etc. which are ascribed to him by the Tradition. However, the coming to light of the second document perhaps makes some examination of the question desirable. First, a word or two about the new document.

It is a parchment manuscript, some 9 inches wide by 13½ inches long. The letters are rounded, and being large are not difficult to read. The ink used is brown. There are 17 lines of text and at the end a circular seal mark, 1 inch across, with the legend reading from below محمد رسول الله, each word having a line to itself. The text is as follows:—

بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم

من محمد رسول الله الى النجا



Photograph by *Blackadder, Glas*

A NEW "PROPHETIC" LETTER.

[*To face p.*

شى عظيم الحبشة سلام على من
اتبع الهدى اما بعد فاني احمد الي
ك الله الذي لا إله الا هو الملك
القدوس السلام المومن المهيمن
واشهد ان عيسى بن مريم روح
الله وكلمته القاها الى مريم البتو
ل الطيبة الحصينة فحملت بعيسى من ر
وحه ونفخه كما خلق ادم بيده و
انى ادعوك الى الله وحده لا شر
يك له والموالاة على طاعته وان
تتبعني وتوقن بالذي جاءني فاني ر
سول الله واني ادعوك وجنو
دك الى الله عز وجل وقد بلغ
ت ونصحت فاقبلو نصيحتي والسلام
على من اتبع (*sic*) الهدى

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, / from Mohammed the apostle of God, to the Negu/s, the great one of Abyssinia, peace (be) upon him / that follows the guidance. To continue, I praise unto / thee God, beside Whom there is no god, the King, / the Holy, the Peace, the

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من محمد رسول الله الى
النجاشي ملك الحبشة سلم انت فاني احمد اليك الله الذي
لا إله إلا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهيمن واشهد
ان عيسى بن مريم روح الله وكلمته القاها الى مريم البتول
الطيبة الحصينة فحملت بعيسى[1] حملته من روحه ونفخه كما
خلق آدم بيده واني ادعوك الى الله وحده لا شريك له
والموالاة على طاعته وان تتبعني وتوقن بالذي جاءني فاني
رسول الله واني ادعوك وجنودك الى الله عز وجل وقد
بلغت ونصحت فاقبلوا نصيحتي والسلام على من اتبع الهدى

From this comparison, however, little more appears than that the MS. so far as its content is concerned, might well have been written for the Prophet, if the Arab historians are right in supposing that such a letter was in fact written. On the other hand, it does not correspond exactly with any of the cited versions. (It may correspond exactly with a version given in a source of Ibn al-Athīr.) In any case the result is again negative.

It remained to examine the document palæographically. The British Museum authorities have no doubt that it cannot be as old as it claims to be. This judgment really settles the question of the genuineness of the new find, for the practical opinion is backed up by theoretical considerations. Already writing before 1890, Wellhausen (*Skizzen*, iv, p. 89) had summarily dismissed the tradition that letters were sent by Mohammed to the Byantine Emperor, etc., but without

[1] Or omit as gloss.

adducing reasons. A good discussion, however, can be found in Caetani, i, p. 725. [Caetani refers to the views first suggested by Grimme, viz. that these letters to foreign potentates contrast with Mohammed's well-attested moderation, and that nowhere else in the Qur'ān is a world mission of the Prophet implied—general considerations but of importance. Caetani then argues that Ibn Isḥāq is not quoted by Ibn Hishām in his notice (p. 971) of the embassies, and observes that the silence of Ibn Isḥāq is an argument against the worth of a tradition which cannot be confuted, especially where the tradition if true is historically important. Though Ṭabarī (i, p. 1560) cites the story of the embassies on the authority of Ibn Isḥāq (the text is not quite certain, see the note), Ṭabarī's recension of Ibn Isḥāq is more recent (and less reliable) than that used by Ibn Hishām. Caetani regards the tradition as due to the influence at a subsequent time of converted Christians, who knew of the world mission of Jesus, and suggests that it developed first round the person of Heraclius.] The case against the letters from a somewhat different point of view is presented in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1909, i, p. 190.

There is, in fact, no doubt that the new document is not genuine. When was it fabricated ? Several of those who have seen it have suggested that it is early rather than late. It may, indeed, be an early forgery. Mr. Hamidullah, the author of *Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane à l'Époque du Prophète*, thinks that there may have been an original prophetic letter, or one regarded as such, in the library of the present Negus of Abyssinia. According to the account of the present owner of the document he got it in Damascus some years ago from an Abyssinian priest. It is therefore conceivable that it was previously in the imperial library, and during the recent war came somehow into the possession of a priest, who later visited Syria. If this were so, we may be dealing with a forgery which has been in existence for a long period.

Personally I cannot help thinking that it is recent, in spite

of the impressive appearance of age presented by the parchment. While in Aleppo recently I was offered a few parchment leaves loosely bound up together, purporting to have been written in the second century of Islam. The MS. turned out to be a kind of charm, and was a forgery. Mr. Mohammed Mubarak was with me at the time, and we had not much hesitation in agreeing on this point. But the writing appeared to be identical with the Prophetic letter. The suggestion is that a number of ostensibly ancient documents are in circulation, and this is hardly consonant with an early date for their fabrication.

Further, there is an interesting notice in the *ZDMG.* for 1863 (p. 385) of a document shown to a German official in Constantinople, a photograph of which was sent to Europe. The document was a letter ostensibly from Mohammed to the governor of Bahrain, said to have been bought in Damascus. It was written on thin brown parchment. The orientalists had no hesitation in saying that it was a forgery. One important fact emerges from this notice. It was evidently well known at that time in the Near East that the Turkish government had paid what is described as an enormous sum for the letter discovered in Egypt by Barthélemy. (It was deposited with other relics of the Prophet in the Serail.) At the time the people who saw the letter were satisfied that it had been fabricated in the hope of realizing a similar price. One may therefore suppose that the present document originated either at or about the same time as this other to the governor of Bahrain, and in any case after Barthélemy's find.

Postscript. The article "Nadjāshī" in *EI.* contains further references. It may also be interesting to compare three plates at the end of Caetani, ii, 1, illustrating his sections on Origine della scrittura araba.

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D. M. Dunlop.

ARABIC NUMERALS

In a contribution to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in April, 1937, the late Dr. Mingana discussed the practice of writing the tens before the units in the compound numbers occurring in the verse-counts of a Kufic Qur'ān in his possession. He suggested that the apparent solecism might be due to the error of a Persian or Syrian copyist, but Dr. Nabia Abbott has since shown that it occurs also in some of the early Kufic Qur'āns reproduced in Moritz's *Arabic Palaeography* and in six Qur'āns of the Mameluke period in the collection of the Oriental Institute in Chicago.[1] Dr. Abbott infers that it must be a recognised usage, not merely the perpetuation of a mistake, and that it may have been current in spoken Arabic during the formative period of the language. There is further evidence of this in some of the manuscripts in the British Museum and the India Office. Except, of course, in the numbers 11 to 19, the tens consistently precede the units in the verse-counts given in the fragments of a very old Kufic Qur'ān in the India Office (No. 5 in Loth's catalogue) which claims to have been written by 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. In a Kufic fragment in the same library (Loth, No. 3) which was once supposed to have been written by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and which contains part of the first two Sūras, the second is headed سورة البقرة ماتان وعنون وتسع. Such forms are occasionally found in a Naskhī Qur'ān which was formerly in the library of Tīpū Sulṭān (I.O., Loth, No. 9). They are always used in an imperfect Qur'ān in the British Museum, which has Kufic headings, and probably dates from the eleventh century (B.M., Or. 4945), and also in a copy of Juz' 25 written at Mosul in A.H. 710 for the Īlkhān Uljaitu (B.M. Add. 11, 735).

Moreover, the same usage was common in several other Semitic languages. Dr. Abbott has mentioned that in Hebrew, Syriac and Mandaean the tens might precede the

[1] *JRAS.*, April, 1938.

units and it was the rule for them to do so in Phoenician[1] and Punic. It is perhaps significant that this is the regular order in Nabataean,[2] but not in the other varieties of Aramaic which must have been much less influenced than it was by contact with Arabic, which may even have been the vernacular of the Nabataean kingdom. Certain of the Berber dialects also suggest the antiquity of this practice among Semitic languages.[3] While most of them have borrowed the Arabic numerals, some, such as those of Jebel Nefusa, Kabylia, the Moroccan Atlas and the Beni Mzab, employ words which though not derived from Arabic are obviously of Semitic origin, and were presumably taken from a Semitic tongue before the Arab conquest. In all these dialects except that of the Moroccan Atlas the tens are placed before the units in all compound numbers.

The evidence of the Southern group of Semitic languages is perhaps more relevant. Maltese is the only one of them which always puts the tens first, and this hardly affects the argument since, whatever else in Maltese can be attributed to Punic sources, the numerals and the way in which they are combined are Arabic. The Muslims first occupied the island under the Aghlabids, and it is clear that the practice with which we are concerned, though it may still have been recognised, had then become exceptional, at least in written Arabic. The fact that it does not occur in Maltese, which has not been a written language until comparatively recent times, perhaps means that it did not occur often in spoken Arabic either.

In Ethiopic the tens usually precede when the numbers are written out and always when the numerical signs are used. Except in multiples of 100 and 1000 the meaning of these is not altered by their position, any more than is the case with the letters of the Arabic alphabet when they are used for the

[1] P. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, p. 184.

[2] J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, tom. i, p. 94.

[3] Gustave Mercier, "La Numération libyenne," *Journal asiatique*, tom. 222.

same purpose. It is likely, then, that the symbols for the tens were written first because the words for them were spoken and written first. The numbers in the inscriptions of King 'Ēzānā at Aksūm are always represented in this way. Only one compound number is also written out, namely 23, which occurs in the form ዕሥራ | ወሠለስቱ, so that it can be assumed that this was already the normal order in Ethiopic in the fourth century, long before the earliest texts on which grammars of Ethiopic are based. The same order has prevailed in the modern Semitic languages of Ethiopia, Amharic,[1] Tigré,[2] Tigriña,[3] Harari [4] and Gurague.[5] It is usual also in Mahri [6] and Shahari,[7] even when the Arabic words are used for the tens from twenty upwards. There is no adequate grammar of Socotri, but in the texts published by D. H. Müller, the units follow the tens much more often than they precede them. In Minao-Sabaean, as is well known, by far the most frequent way of combining numbers is to begin with the unit if there is one, and for the others to follow it in ascending order, a practice which is not uncommon in Arabic. There is, however, reason to suppose that this was not the only formation which was permitted. Mahri and Shahari have often been regarded by both Arab and European philologists as survivals of the ancient languages of South Arabia, and it is hard to see from what other language, if not from Sabaean, they can have acquired the forms they have adopted. Again,

[1] F. Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*, p. 204. C. H. Armbruster, *Initia amharica*, pt. i, pp. 86 et seqq.

[2] There appears to be no grammar of Tigré, but see M. Camperio, *La lingua parlata nel Tigraï*, p. 45. See also C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd. i, p. 489.

[3] F. Praetorius, *Grammatik der Tigriñasprache in Abessinien*, p. 217.

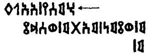
[4] E. Cerulli, *Studi etiopici*, i, p. 394.

[5] M. Cohen, *Études d'éthiopien méridional*, p. 204.

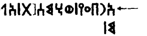
[6] M. Bittner, *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache. Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 172, Abh. 5, pp. 93, 94. See also Bertram Thomas, *Four Strange Tongues from South Arabia*, p. 20.

[7] M. Bittner, *Studien zur Shauri-sprache*, *SBWA.*, Bd. 179, Abh. 4, p. 51. See also B. Thomas, loc. cit.

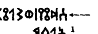
as Dr. Abbott observes, the fact that the Arabs represented 29 by كط and not by طك, which would have done equally well, suggests that they may once have said the words in that order. Similarly, the Sabaeans wrote  for 55, and it is difficult to see why they should have done so if they had always placed the unit first in speech. Lastly, there are a few occasions when the general rule is disregarded in surviving monuments. In an important inscription from Ma'rib, *C.I.H.* 541 (Glaser 618), 50,806 is rendered by



In Glaser 418, 9 we have



i.e. 45,000, and

[1]

i.e. 63,000.

When all this is considered it is impossible to accept the view that the custom of writing the units after the tens is a mistake in Arabic, and an innovation in Ethiopic. It occurs not only in languages which are philologically very close to Arabic, but in at least three which were at one time or another spoken in some part of Arabia, Sabaean, Nabataean and Ethiopic. It would not be surprising to find that it occurred in Arabic also at a time when the rules of grammar had not been formulated or any attempt made to standardize the usages of the language. The only important literary works dating from that time are the Qur'ān and a certain amount of poetry; it is in the verse-counts of Qur'āns and as a poetic licence that the practice in question survives in classical Arabic.

449. C. F. BECKINGHAM.

[1] N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte*, *SBWA.*, Bd. 206, Abh. 2, p. 6.

CORRECTIONS TO ARTHUR UPHAM POPE'S "THE MYTH OF THE ARMENIAN DRAGON CARPETS"

In the *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (1925, Berlin), Mr. A. U. Pope had an article about the myth of the Armenian Dragon Carpets.

Although I do not share his opinions expressed in this article, yet I refrain here from arguing against them. However, Mr. Pope, to substantiate his arguments, brings forward a number of "facts" that need correction.

p. 148. ". . . the fact that an Armenian king used rugs as part payment of tribute." The only reference to Armenians giving rugs as tribute we find in the works of the Arab historian Ibn Khaldūn in the eighth century (775–786). Among Armenian tributes he mentions twenty rugs, which were received by the califs of Bagdad.[1] Undoubtedly Mr. Pope refers to this historical fact with his statement because there are no other historical testimonies in which it is shown that Armenians or kings of Armenians have given rugs as tribute.

During the period referred to in the statement of Ibn Khaldūn, Armenia was not ruled by kings, but by Arab overseers appointed by the calif of Bagdad, and following is a list of the Arab overseers of Armenia in the second half of the eighth century.

Yezid I (751–760 ?), Bakar (760 ?–1 ?), Hassan (762 ?–775), Yezid II (775–780 ?), Othman (780 ?–5), Roh (785), Khazm (785–6), Yezid III (786–7), Abdalkbir (787), Suleiman (787–790), Yezid IV (790–5), Khuzima (784–7), all of them Muhammadans.

p. 149. Mr. Pope, speaking of the rug with an Armenian inscription in the South Kensington Museum, gives the translation of the inscription : "I, Gohar, full of sin and feeble of soul have knotted this with my own hands, May he who reads pray for my soul. In the year 1129" (Armenian Calendar, A.D. 1679).

[1] See Alf. v. Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, i, p. 358.

I have a large photograph of this rug, and its inscription I translate verbatim thus: "I Kuhar with sin (for I am) feeble of soul I with my beginner's ('newly ripe') hand wove who(ever) reads he pity me once (lit. 'one mouth', or, freely translated, 'he pray for me once'), year 1149" (A.D. 1700).[1]

The difference between the Armenian calendar and the A.D. calendar is 551 years, so 1129 of the Armenians plus 551 equals 1680, and not 1679.

p. 150. Mr. Pope, speaking of the Armenian "Kirmiz" dye and its use in Armenian dragon carpets, writes as if Caucasus was a distinct country, and rug-weaving sections such as Kazak, Daghestan, Kabistan, Shirvan, Shamakhi and Karabagh were parts of Caucasus and not of Armenia. However, I believe Mr. Pope could have found without much difficulty that the above-mentioned districts are nothing but mostly parts of Greater Historic Armenia. Kazak has nothing to do with Russian Cossacks. The name Kazak is derived from the

[1] Mr. Pope has taken the translation of the inscription from *Hand Woven Carpets*, by Kendrick and Tattersall, p. 15, and naturally we cannot blame him for the errors in the translation and date. The inscription in Armenian reads:—

ԵՍ ԿՈՒՀԱՌՍ ՄԵՂ.ՕՔ. ՁԻ ՀՈԳՈՎ.Ս ՏԿԱՐ
ԵՍ ՆՈՐ(Ա)Հ(Ա)Ս ՁԵՌԻՍ

ՄԵՐ ԻՄՈՂ. ԳՈՐԾԵՑԻ ՈՎ. ԿԱՐԴԱՑ ՄԵԿ
ԲԵՐԱՆ ՈՂ.ՈՐՄԻ ՁՍԻ ԹՎ.(ՌՃ) ՌՃԽԹ

The writing is in Armenian "polorkir". Although legible, it is not neatly and nicely written, perhaps the fault of the weaver who could not copy the scribe's writing neatly. There also is an error committed during weaving, the underlined ՁՍԻ should be corrected ՁԻՍ ("me").

By other readers of this inscription the date has been read ՌՃԻԹ (1129), instead of ՌՃԽԹ (1149), because the weaver has made a խ but not complete, forgetting the up-turning line of the խ. At the same time this particular letter cannot be ի because all other ի's are perfectly executed in this inscription.

In Armenian dates the letter ի is equal to twenty, and խ is equal to forty. Thus can be explained the difference in the reading of the date.

ancient name of Kassakh, part of ancient as well as present Armenia of the U.S.S.R.

The group of rugs known as Daghistan, Kabistan, Shirvan, Kouba, Karaja, Karabagh, Ganja, Soumak (Shamakhi), etc., are very closely related to each other. It is very difficult to say why these rugs are named thus. Although these are generally accepted as rugs woven in those districts, we have no corroborating facts to verify the assumption. The rug dealers are not particular as to how they name their rugs, and I believe that careful research in this direction will disclose that many errors have been committed in naming rugs, and that most, if not all, of the rugs named above are woven in the provinces adjoining the Caspian Sea, south of the Caucasian mountains, a district known to geographers and historians from the 8th to the 15th century as Arran. Historic Albania (Avghank of the Armenians) formed the largest part of Arran. These lands were under the cultural influence of Armenia ; the Christian inhabitants were subjects of the Armenian church ; and quite a large portion of those provinces formed part of Historic Armenia.

Karabagh, situated between the Kur and Arax rivers, was and is purely Armenian, and was the last Armenian independent stronghold, governed by five lords (" Khamsa Melik "), all Armenians. At present it is part of the U.S.S.R. and has self-government.

411. H. KURDIAN.

NOTE ON LIST OF TOD MSS. No. 114 :

CACCARI (Palm-leaf)

This MS. is described in Dr. Barnett's list as a Skt. commentary [1] by a disciple of Jinapati upon a Pkt. work. There are actually two works, both by Jinadatta, (i) *Upadeśa-rasāyana* of 80 stanzas, fol. 1–37*b*, (ii) *Caccarī* of 47 stanzas, 37*b*–67. They are written in Apabhraṃśa, which in the case of the

[1] The MS. contains the Prâkrit text with commentary.

Upa. the commentator describes as Pkt. Jinadatta lived St. 1132–1211 (A.D. 1076–1155), and may have written these works about A.D. 1110. The commentaries were both written in St. 1294 (A.D. 1238), a date indicated by *Yuga-nava-ravi* in Upa. and *Veda-graha-ravi* in Cac. The commentator's name is given in both colophons as Jinapāla. Both works with Jinapāla's commentaries have been published in *GOS.*, xxxvii, but presumably from undated paper copies. The present MS. is a copy, but can hardly be later than the fourteenth century, to which Dr. Barnett has assigned it, and may even be of the thirteenth century.

Pischel's sources for his *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa* date no further back than St. 1574, and have in certain cases been so contaminated by Gujarati as to present newer forms than those of the Gujarati palm-leaf MSS. of the thirteenth century A.D. published in *GOS.*, xiii. The present MS. is therefore of special value as the earliest Apabhraṃśa MS. known in Europe. The MS. of the Kuvalaya-mālā in the Jesalmīr bhaṇḍāra, extracts of which are published by Lal. Gandhi in *GOS.*, xxxvii, is on palm leaves and may be contemporary, although assigned cautiously to the fifteenth century St.

The text of the MS. differs little from that of the critical text of Lal. Gandhi. For instance, in the first stanza of the Cac. the MS. reads *namavi* for *namivi*, *Jiṇesaru* for *Jiṇesara*, *gai* for *gaya*, and an obvious misreading *guṇiguṇa* for *guṇigaṇa*. In the second stanza *vāya* is found for *vāī*, agreeing with *GOS.*, MS. Ka and *taṇaï*, *ghaṇaï* for *taṇai*, *ghaṇai*. Occasionally the euphonic *y* is omitted and, more rarely, supplied between vowels.

The metre of the Upa. is described by the commentator as Paddhaṭikā. It does not, however, correspond with the Paddhaḍikā of Hemacandra and Paddharī of Piṅgala (see Jacobi, *Bhav.*, p. 48*, and Alsdorf, *Hari.*, p. 190), but with the Aḍilā, Arilla, Alilā, or Akala, and ends with a quantitative dactyl or proceleusmatic. This provides an interesting question

for investigation. The Upa. often follows the old Dravidian metrical rule that the foot (gaṇa) should correspond with the word, and both the Upa. and the Cac. carefully observe the Drav. metrical rule that an initial iambus should be avoided. The metre of Cac. has 21 *mātras* to the *pāda*, with the caesura usually after the twelfth. The *pāda* always ends with a tribrach, and a dactyl often precedes the caesura.

Jinadatta, the writer, was born thirteen years before Hemacandra at Dhandhuka, some thirty miles away from Dholka, Hemacandra's birth-place, in what is now the Ahmadabad district, and must have spoken the same dialect of Gujarati as Hemacandra, almost certainly the Gujjara, mentioned as one of the eighteen *desi bhāsā* of the Kuvalayamālā (A.D. 778, *GOS.*, xxxvii, p. 93). He was widely-travelled and died at Ajmer (Ajayameru), so it is not possible to say to whom his work was intended to appeal, and therefore by what vernacular, if any, it has been influenced; but the MS. is by an author whose date is known and is probably as close to the original form as a copy can be, two virtues which render it a most valuable source.

450. ALFRED MASTER.

A PASSAGE FROM THE UDYOGA-PARVAN

In *JRAS.*, April, 1939, p. 220, Professor E. H. Johnston has been pleased to glance, in a footnote, at the reading of a stanza adopted in my critical edition of the Udyoga-parvan of the Mahābhārata (for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona), and to express his opinion that the reading is "unsatisfactory". As the stanza itself is quoted by him, a reproduction of his remark would facilitate discussion:—

"The vulgate reading of this verse, adopted in the critical Poona edition, v, 19, 15, viz.:

Tasya Cīnaiḥ Kirātaiś ca kāñcanair iva saṁvṛtam
Babhau balam anādhṛṣyaṁ karṇikāravanaṁ yathā

is unsatisfactory. Either one should amend to *kāñcanair evā*, or, following K tradition, read *Kāmbojaiś caiva saṁvṛtam.* The golden colour of the Kirātas is often referred to in literature, and the first suggestion is probably the sounder."

The remark is too brief to be clear, and appears to involve some misunderstanding. In the first place, it should be noted that, for the portion of the stanza complained of, the reading of our text is given, not merely by the Vulgate, but also by all B and D manuscripts (except D 2, 8), as well as the entire Southern recension; and this of itself furnishes an overwhelming weight of unambiguous evidence. In the second place, the K reading *Kāmbojaiś ca*, offered for alternative adoption by Professor Johnston, is only a one-version reading, which is not authenticated either by any other Northern version, or independently by the Southern recension, and cannot be adopted unless there is some very cogent reason to support it. Our text on this point is practically the reading of all versions, K alone standing apart.[1] When the variants for the line in question are extremely few, especially on this particular point, there is no reason to suppose that K alone preserved the right reading, and to suspect that every other version or recension went wrong. On the contrary, it would be highly probable that the reading of the K redactor, who had some difficulty in understanding the line, is itself an *emendation*—a point to which I shall return presently. In the third place, I confess I am unable to understand the point in the suggested alternative reading of *eva* for *iva*. On the manuscript evidence it is a reading which can hardly be accepted, for *eva* is sporadic and given only by three manuscripts, viz. K 3, 5, T 2, which are certainly not the best of our manuscripts. Of these three manuscripts, again, K 3, 5 read *Kāmbojaiś caiva*, while T 2 has *kāñcanaiś caiva.* It is also not correct to say that the reading *Kāmbojaiś caiva saṁvṛtam* represents in its entirety the K tradition; for,

[1] The Adhyāya is unfortunately lost in the Śāradā MS. on a missing folio.

K 1, 2, 4 have *Kāmbojaiś ca susaṁvṛtam*, so that these three K manuscripts do not lend support to the proposed *eva* reading.

Professor Johnston himself, however, would prefer to emend our text-reading into *kāñcanair eva saṁvṛtam* (a reading which in its entirety is given by none of our manuscripts) by substituting *eva* for *iva*: and he refers in support to the golden colour of the Kirātas. If *eva* is meant as an emphatic particle, I fail to see how it makes out the Professor's contention; for it would not make the phrase imply what he means it to imply (viz. the golden colour of the Kirātas), but would make it mean (if *kāñcana* here signifies "gold") that the Kirātas were "covered only with gold". The emendation would also not solve the difficulty of the plural form, nor would it offer an explanation of the K variant *Kāmbojaiḥ*, which is alternatively suggested by the Professor, presumably as giving an easier reading.

The *raison d'être* for the K variant appears to be that the redactor of the K version had some difficulty in understanding the word *kāñcanaiḥ*, which all other versions retain. Had it not been a *lectio difficilior*, the modification, in which K stands alone, would not be intelligible. No doubt, all translators of the Mahābhārata uniformly render the word as "gold", "golden colour", "golden ornament", etc.; but this does not sufficiently take into account the use of the plural,[1] nor does it bring out the sense of *iva* which has obviously presented a difficulty to Professor Johnston. We can, however, get a better result[2] by taking *kāñcana* as the name of a tree with yellow flowers, Böhtlingk and Roth actually giving it as the name of Campaka—a rare enough sense, but one which suits our text very well. We can then translate the passage roughly thus:—

"His invincible army filled with the Cīnas and Kirātas

[1] If the word means "golden ornaments", the plural would not be objectionable; but this is not likely.

[2] I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar of the Poona Bhandarkar Institute.

looked like a Karṇikāra forest (girt) with Kāñcana (Campaka) trees."

The golden colour of the Karṇikāra flowers having been referred to by Kālidāsa in the phrase *ākṛṣṭa-hema-dyuti-karṇikāram* in *Kumāra*° 3.53ᵇ, and the yellow colour of the Campaka being well known, the comparison would at once bring out the golden colour of the Kirātas and the yellow colour of the Cīnas. The *iva* should not present any difficulty. Connected with *yathā*, as here, it is a pleonasm sanctioned by the epic idiom. The St. Petersburg Dictionary notices it, and comments very rightly under *yathā* : "Bisweilen zum Überfluss mit *iva* verbunden," citing three examples, one of which (Mbh. 2, 1311) is :—

vicikṣipur *yathā* śyenā / nabhogatam *ivā*miṣam.

The point has not been studied in detail, but a number of examples can be added from the published text of the Ādi and Virāṭa in the critical edition, of which the following are interesting :—

4.13.11. srag *iv*ottamā *yathā*.
4.13.21. *yathā* śiśuḥ . . . *iva* manyase.

The suggested emendation therefore, is unacceptable when there is no necessity for it, either for construing or interpreting the passage, or in respect of any confusing diversity of variants—none of which exigencies occur here.

454. S. K. De.

Note on the above Paper

Professor De's defence above of his reading of the verse in question is ingenious, but does not resolve my doubts. Certainly *kāñcana* is recorded in the later dictionaries as a name for several trees, but no occurrence in literature has come to notice yet, so far as is known to me ; I should have felt more inclined to accept it, if it had been known to the *Amarakośa*, which, however, does not refer to it. Further,

if the writer had been learned enough to know of such a rarity, he must be presumed to have known how similes are constructed in Sanskrit poetry, and we must interpret the verse strictly. The word *karṇikāravana* would apply to the *bala*, and *kāñcana* to the Cīnas and Kirātas jointly, both words being in the same case; thus there is a distinction between the bulk of the army on one side, and the Cīnas and Kirātas who "fringe" it on the other. But such a contrast is unknown to this and other passages, which treat of Bhagadatta's army as mainly composed of Kirātas. Nor, in view of the fact that, when *karṇikāra* is compared to a person, most passages in literature emphasize the golden appearance of the person in question, do I see how it can be held to be contrasted with another tree whose very name means "golden". In my opinion the explanation does not make reasonable sense of the verse.

Whether *iva* or *eva* is the right reading, the verse can only be construed by taking *kāñcana* as an adjective, a use which is well authenticated for this period (for an excellent example note *Buddhacarita*, v, 44, *kāñcanam āsanam*), and *saṁvṛta* then means "filled with", as suggested above. With the former reading, the author can be understood as thinking that he is straining language in employing a word, which would naturally mean "made of gold", when all he wants to indicate is the golden colour of the complexion, and accordingly by a well-known use he inserts *iva* to soften the harshness. With the reading *eva*, which I still prefer and hardly look on as an emendation,[1] the fondness of the epic for unnecessary particles might be held to preclude the necessity of offering any explanation for it here, but personally I take it as drawing attention to *kāñcanaiḥ* to emphasize its connection with the rather distant simile in the next line.

454. E. H. JOHNSTON.

[1] The word I used was "amend", not "emend".

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

STUDIEN ZU DEN ARABISCHEN DANIELÜBERSETZUNGEN MIT BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER CHRISTLICHEN TEXTE. Von OSCAR LÖFGREN. 9½ × 6, pp. 103. Uppsala: Universitets Årsskrift, 1936: 4.

Although Daniel is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, his name is more familiar to Muslims than, with the exception of Jonah, that of any among the literary prophets, and Miskawaihi tells us how an aspirant to the vizierate secured it by getting a specialist in oracles ascribed to him to forge one in which the aspirant was unmistakably described as an ideal candidate for the office. Arabic translations of his prophecies were, therefore, studied by Muslims as well as by Jews and Christians; in the year 1917 a Baha'i calculated—it must be admitted, inaccurately—the termination of the Great War from Daniel's numbers. Dr. Löfgren's monograph shows that one who read the book in Arabic had numerous versions to choose from: some made directly from the Hebrew and Aramaic, some from the Greek, some from the Syriac, and some at third hand from the Coptic. The writer's studies of MSS. and editions were spread over at least as many years as the versions over centuries, and his results would seem to be exhaustive both in enumeration with location of the texts, and in tracing their respective origin. The late Dr. Mingana has called attention to the occurrence of important variants in MSS. of the Peshitta O.T., and this monograph has a useful appendix in which the Ambrosianus B 21 is collated with Lee's text of Daniel, and a number of differences noted.

B. 313. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

BEITRÄGE ZUM CHAZARENPROBLEM. Von MAXIMILIAN LANDAU. Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, Nr. 43. 9 × 6, pp. 46. Breslau: Stefan Münz, 1938.

It is historically attested that for some 150 years Judaism was the official religion of the Khazars, a nation occupying the region between the Don and the Caspian; its chief monument in Jewish literature is the correspondence between the Spanish diplomat Hasdai ibn Shaprut and the Khazar sovereign Joseph. Grätz in his *Geschichte der Juden* (vol. v) gives an epitome of these documents, without questioning their genuineness; that, however, has been frequently disputed, and the purpose of this pamphlet is to rebut the arguments adduced in favour of their being forgeries of a later period. One of these is based on the Messianic hopes expressed by Hasdai, but Herr Landau is able to show that such were commonly harboured by Hasdai's contemporaries. He is further able to produce a number of parallels to the phraseology of the letter from the writings of Menahem b. Saruk, who acted as Hasdai's secretary. In the second part of his pamphlet he defends against Kokovcov the authenticity of a document published by Schechter from the Geniza-collection in Cambridge, ostensibly of the tenth century, and which Herr Landau holds to have been addressed to Hasdai, and indeed to have been the source of the knowledge displayed in his letter about the affairs of the Khazars.

B. 123. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE CRUSADE IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES. By A. S. ATIYA. 6¾ × 6, pp. xvi + 603, pls. 10, maps 4. London: Methuen and Co., 1938. 30*s*.

This is the first comprehensive history of the crusading campaigns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The course of the Later Crusades is more or less known to the

historians of the period and the results of Dr. Atiya's exhaustive researches corroborate rather than change materially the general estimate of these expeditions. But the study of all available evidence, both Eastern and Western, enables the author to add important information on many relevant details and to give authoritative judgment on the motives and movements of the propagandists and champions of the crusades.

Four parts of varying length form this interesting study. Part II, following upon an admirable introduction in Part I, is, perhaps, the most illuminating and important section of the whole work. It is—to our knowledge—the first representative history of the writings of the contemporary propagandists, some of whom have already found their biographers. Dr. Atiya shows that they were one in their zeal for action by united Christendom. Their efforts finally came to naught for two reasons: (1) a disintegrating process which made out of a universal Christian empire a number of Christian national states with interests of their own often in conflict with the common effort on behalf of the Holy Land and against the Infidels; (2) the growth of the Ottoman Empire with its subjugation of Eastern Christianity and dangerous inroad into South-Eastern Europe.

In the valuable chapters where Dr. Atiya discusses the motives which inspired men like Lull, Mezières, and certain pilgrims and their accounts, often more fanciful than accurate, of Muslim religion and customs, there is much that is new and interesting, e.g. their pronouncements on comparative military strength, strategy, and tactics. Lannoy's impressions of Egypt and La Broquière's opinion on the Turks call for special attention in this connection. Dr. Atiya emphasizes the economic motives which guided not only the Italian maritime republics in their half-hearted and often treacherous support, but even led the papal curia to exhort Christian countries to help in deflecting the alum trade from the Sultan to Rome. He concludes from this literature: "The idea

of the crusade, therefore, underwent a significant change. Originally an offensive war for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Egyptians, it became a defensive struggle to save Europe from the Turks."

Part III, "The East and the Crusade," fully deals with the reaction of Eastern Christianity. The author shows how, together with religious motives, geographical and economic circumstances determined the Latins and the West in their attitudes to the Crusade.

The fourth part deals with the actual history of the crusades. Chapters of special interest include a convincing vindication of Count Humbert II de Viennois as against the usually adverse criticism of his character and actions; an original study of the conquest of Alexandria based mainly on the evidence of an eyewitness, Al-Nuwairī; the big part which the economic self-interest of Venice and Genoa played in the crusades of Amadeo VI of Savoy and of Louis II de Bourbon.

Hitherto unknown material provides a noteworthy chapter on "The Aftermath of the Crusades," in which the author briefly analyses the counter-propagandist Muslim literature which urged that Syria was the land of promise and the natural heritage of those who professed the true faith of Islam. Of singular interest is the author's skilful résumé of two treatises embodied in a Cambridge MS., *kitāb faḍā 'il bait al-maqdis* and *kitāb faḍā 'il al-Shām*. It is earnestly to be hoped that the author may soon give us a full critical account of this hitherto neglected chapter in the history of the Crusades. Incidentally it may be remarked that Talmudic and medieval Jewish utterances on the Holy Land are very much like some of the quotations from these two treatises.

In the same section the Egyptian counter-crusades against Cyprus and Rhodes are described with the help of ample evidence from Muslim historical sources, and the demonstration of the military superiority of the Turks leads to the

conclusion that the Levant became a large Turkish colony thanks to the use of artillery and gunpowder.

Copious learned notes, together with appendices, lists, and tables, enhance the value of a scrupulously fair and balanced judgment, and bear testimony to the erudition of this widely read Egyptian scholar. An immense amount of material, much of it still in manuscript, has been carefully sifted. The evidence, Oriental and Occidental, has been carefully weighed. The result is an excellent and indispensable manual of the Crusades of the Later Middle Ages, from their conception to their success or failure. Moreover, it is a landmark in that the original sources on *both* sides are competently used. This is the only way by which we may hope to arrive at a fair and objective understanding of the period of the Crusades.

The author is to be congratulated on his achievement, and the publishers on the excellent production of an important work.

B. 161. ERWIN I. J. ROSENTHAL.

ENQUÊTE SUR LES YEZIDIS DE SYRIE ET DU DJEBEL SINDJÂR. Avec seize planches en phototypie. (Mémoires de l'Institut Français de Damas, V.) By R. LESCOT. 10 × 7, pp. 277, pls. 16, charts 2. Beyrouth, 1938.

During the year 1936 M. Lescot had the opportunity of making a first-hand study of the Yezidis. During April of that year a journey in High Jezîreh enabled him to come into contact with the Yezidis of the Jebel Sinjâr, who, a short time before, in consequence of the rebellion, had abandoned the territory of Irâq and had found refuge in the territory of Syria which is under French mandate. During November of that same year, M. Lescot was three weeks at 'Azâz and studied the Yezidis of the Jebel Sim'ân in Syria, exploring their country. The outcome of these two inquiries, as he terms them, is the present book, in which he has resolved

to hold in account only those observations that resulted from his direct study of the Yezidi population, and to discard all that his predecessors had written in their studies of the Yezidis (6). He has even preferred to omit some details the exactness of which he has been unable to verify rather than to include them in the present volume. Howbeit, the task of M. Lescot has not been an easy one, especially as far as Yezidi religion is concerned; very often the people questioned are only able to give very inexact replies to the queries made, being at bottom very ignorant as to their own religious beliefs (7). The most important group, that has always most attracted the interest of scholars, the group of the Sheykhân, not far from Mosul, has remained outside the investigation of the author, and therefore is not included in the matter of this book. It would, therefore, be dangerous to attribute all M. Lescot's observations to this group also, or to deduct from his silence on some given circumstance that it is unknown to the Yezidis of the district of Mosul.

The book is composed of six parts, besides an introduction, a list of references, an index, and so forth. The first part (19-98) treats of the religion of the Yezidi community, of their supposed founder Sheykh 'Adî, of his successors and of the formation of dogmas—these latter pages have great interest for all who study the Yezidis, although reserves should be made in this connection—and of the religious doctrines of contemporary Yezidism, and of religious organization. The chapter on history (101-128), based chiefly on materials already collected by other writers, and principally by students of Islâm, traces the history of the Yezidis from the time of Abû'l-Barakât, nephew of Sheykh 'Adî, up to the present date. Chapters iii and iv are naturally the most original, as they expound the data collected by M. Lescot himself, and contain for a great part materials which are new for the student. In them the author speaks of the geography of the countries examined, of the population, of the standard of living, of family life, of the tribes and their

organization, of political life and of the crisis of recent years. The fourth chapter contains the conclusions of the author (221–2). In the *Annexes* (225–268) M. Lescot publishes a document on the 'Adawiyyah, the successors of 'Adî, some Kurd texts containing myths and legends, a list of the small shrines of the Jebel Sinjâr and of the Jebel Sim'ân, ample information on the tribes living on the latter mountain, and a list of the *Sheykhs* of Sinjâr.

The book of M. Lescot is an excellent contribution to the study of the Yezidis. It carries on that revision of modern theories on the nature of Yezidism and on its origin, which has been in progress for some time. As to the origin of the Yezidis, I must stress that the author strongly upholds, in a very radical manner, their derivation from Islâm. Even Melek Ṭâ'ûs would be only the Iblîs of Islâm, transformed into a good deity. Not everybody, in my opinion, will feel able to accept this thesis of the author.

B. 299. GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

Far East

CHINESE TRADITIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHY. By CHARLES S. GARDNER. Harvard Historical Monographs, XI. 8 × 5½, pp. xi + 120. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press, 1938. $1·25 or 5*s*.

This book consists of six essays on present-day historical studies in China. They are headed Motivation, Textual Criticism, Historical Criticism, Synthesis, Style, Formal Classification. The study of early China is beset by formidable difficulties. Beliefs as to the date and authorship of the available sources were until recent times almost wholely mythological. A certain amount of Confucian fable has been cleared away and provisional conclusions of a more rational kind agreed upon. But the scholar still finds himself constantly held up by the necessity of branching off from his main line of research into exasperatingly complicated by-paths. To take a concrete example. Are the *Springs and Autumns*

simply anonymous fragmentary annals of the Lu State, or were they edited by Confucius? Had the editing a didactic purpose? Mr. Gardner accepts that they were edited by Confucius (p. 11). To a sceptic this might seem like accepting off-hand that Cæsar's Camp was built by Cæsar, or that Merlin's Cave was really inhabited by Merlin. The author also accepts that the editing was tendencious; on p. 11 he speaks of the annals' being "garbled" and on p. 13 of facts being altered or suppressed. But the attempts of commentators such as Kung-yang to show why particular expressions are used or why particular events are recorded or unrecorded are products for the most part of a wholely fanciful scholasticism.

In general, however, Mr. Gardner's book is an extremely painstaking and extremely accurate survey of the progress that Chinese historical studies have made in recent times. Most scholars will regret that he has adopted a new system of transliteration. But he has so arranged the book that this will not seriously handicap his readers. A few inaccuracies may be pointed out, Chi Tzŭ (p. 36) was not "the Philosopher-Chi", but "the Baron of Chi". It is by no means certain that the cousins Tai (p. 57) were responsible for the two collections of ritual texts that pass under their names (see introduction to Harvard-Yenching Index of *Li Chi*). It can hardly be said that Chu Hsi "ignored" (p. 59) the *Wai Shu* (four additional books) of Mencius. There is, I think, no reason to suppose that the original *Wai Shu*, discarded by Chao Ch'i in Han times, still existed in Chu Hsi's day; nor any evidence that later forgeries of it were known to Chu Hsi.

There is one strange omission. In studying early China the only considerable texts we possess which have not been repeatedly edited and "improved" and which are indeed contemporary with the events they describe are the inscriptions on bronzes. The study of these has played a large part in modern Chinese historiography, and it is a pity that Mr. Gardner does not deal with them.

B. 197.

Arthur Waley.

NETHERLANDS INDIA. By J. S. FURNIVALL, with an Introduction by Jonkheer Mr. A. C. DE GRAEFF, Governor-General of Netherlands India, 1926–1931. pp. xxii + 502, maps 6. Cambridge University Press, 1939.

Mr. de Graeff, who is far better qualified than most men to give a competent opinion, puts forward as his general impression that "the author has succeeded in a wonderful way in giving a concise treatise of the political, social, and economic history of that part of the Tropical Far East that has been for more than three centuries under Dutch sovereignty". The subjects of the early chapters, such as the early history of the Netherlands East India Company and the Culture System of 1830–1850 have been handled elsewhere in English, but never with greater conciseness and precision, while for the subjects of the later chapters the author has had to go to an imposing list of Dutch works and Dutch official reports. This excellent book is a mine of information not only for special study of Netherlands India but for all students of colonial administration. Its value is enhanced by the fullness of those references and notes which are so necessary in such a compilation, where for example only twelve pages can be allotted to agriculture and ten to labour. Its quaint sub-title is explained on p. 447.

B. 395. R. O. WINSTEDT.

STUDIES IN EARLY CHINESE CULTURE. First Series. By H. G. CREEL. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxii + 266. London: Kegal Paul, 1938. 15*s*.

The author aims at treating in greater detail certain of the problems raised in his former work, *The Birth of China*, chiefly, the existence of a Hsia dynasty and the origin of the Shang people. This involves consideration of archæological material, which has become available only in recent years, and a re-estimate of the historical value of classical literature.

As to the Shang problem, many of the data here advanced

are familiar to readers of this *Journal* from Professor Yetts's articles which appeared in 1933 and 1935; but the existence of the Hsia is a theme which has been neglected by Western writers, and therefore Dr. Creel's lucid treatment of it is specially welcome. He concludes that no Hsia dynasty, holding sway over ancient China, ever existed; but that a cultured Hsia state did exist and was vanquished by the Shang. He also explains how the fiction of a Hsia dynasty arose in Chou times and how the term came to denote the Central States, whose civilization was typically Chinese in contrast to the outlying states which were deemed barbarian. Perhaps he might have mentioned another aspect of the question when writing about "inscriptions which appear to emanate from states outside the Hsia circle". They have certain characteristics which contrast with those of contemporary inscriptions on bronzes of the Central States. Many Ch'u examples are known, for instance. Yet there may be truth in the theory that some of these characteristics are really vestiges of the Shang tradition, a heritage from Shang refugees at the time of the conquest, and therefore within Hsia influence.

Much of the third section, relating to Shang culture, has been published before in *Monumenta Serica* (1935). The affinities of archaic Chinese designs with those of the North-west American Indians are the subject of interesting speculations.

B. 167.

G. Young.

Middle East

Poems of a Persian Ṣūfī. Being the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir rendered into English verse by Arthur J. Arberry, Litt.D. 6¾ × 5, pp. 34. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1937. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This nice booklet of Arthur J. Arberry contains the English rendering of sixty quatrains by Bābā Ṭāhir, a Persian poet of early Ṣūfism, who died in the fifth/eleventh century.

His poems were not written down by himself or his disciples, but were handed down by oral tradition, and it was only from anthologies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that his quatrains had to be gathered.

Unlike 'Umar Khayyām, whose quatrains in E. Fitzgerald's rendering have become so popular, Bābā Ṭāhir is far from being a pessimist or a materialist. His quatrains all centre upon the Divine Beloved.

Arthur J. Arberry's excellent translation is worth being read not only by the student of Ṣūfism or Persian literature but also by any general reader interested in Oriental poetry.

A. 965. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

A CHRONICLE OF THE CARMELITES IN PERSIA AND THE PAPAL MISSION OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$. Vol. I: pp. 720, pls. 3. Vol. II: pp. 721–1376, map 1. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939. £2 2*s.*

This important publication, containing the history of the Carmelite Mission in Iran in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, comprises no less than 1,376 pages. It is based almost entirely on documents never before published found in the archives of the Carmelites in Rome and in the Orient and of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide. It includes not only the reports sent to Rome of the deeds of the Carmelite missions, but many letters which passed between the Shahs of Iran and the Popes. These documents have been admirably translated into English and pieced together in a more or less consecutive narrative, with a learned introduction, notes, appendices, and index. We are not, however, told the name of the scholarly and laborious compiler, nor are we given any clue to his identity. Only in one passage does he refer to the conditions under which he worked. He says on p. xxxi of the Foreword: "That it has been built up and put together in tropical islands thousands

of miles from any large European library is the explanation why other European travellers of the period have for the most part not been quoted and used to check statements and fill historical gaps; why Persian sources have not been explored to supply names and dates."

Nor is it only contemporary travellers who have been thus for the most part ignored. The same silence is preserved in regard to all who have in recent times written about these travellers, or about the history of Iran during the periods with which these documents are concerned; and thus we are given no indication as to where these materials conflict with hitherto accepted facts. For the sake of the general reader this is to be regretted, even if the professional historian may be expected to discover these discrepancies for himself.

In spite of this peculiarity of his work, the compiler has rendered an inestimable service to all students of Iranian history, and it is quite evident that in the light of these documents, now for the first time made accessible, the whole story of Iran and her relations with the Christian Princes in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries will have to be re-written.

I may be permitted to say a few words regarding the Sherley brothers by way of demonstrating the kind of new materials with which this whole work abounds. Among the Vatican documents is a report written by the Portuguese Jesuit Da Costa, who reached Ispahan in 1599, two months after the departure of Anthony Sherley. The report gives a number of details regarding Anthony which I have not met with elsewhere, some of which may be true while others are clearly inaccurate. It may, for example, be true, as we are here told, that when in 1594 Anthony was arrested and tried by Queen Elizabeth for having accepted the order of St. Michael from Henri IV, Anthony's wife died out of chagrin. Since we have no record of the date of his marriage with Frances Vernon, or of this lady's death, the statement may be true. A statement that when Anthony, having been

pardoned and released, "went to serve the Queen in Holland . . . and was captured by the Spaniards in the time of the Duke of Parma, and put in prison in Brussels, being released on payment of a ransom" is obviously inaccurate, for we know that Anthony went on this occasion to fight in France and that the Duke of Parma died in 1592.

There is another statement to the effect that in 1598 Anthony and his companions "passed to Constantinople" on their way to Iran. Now we have no less than four separate accounts of Anthony's journey to Iran by persons who were of the party, from which we learn that they travelled via Zante and Antioch.

The details of Anthony's parentage and early exploits are, however, accurately told, including his expedition to the West Indies in 1595; and one wonders how the mistake above referred to could have crept into Da Costa's narrative, which he must have based on what he learnt in Ispahan from Robert Sherley and those of the party who did not leave Iran with Anthony.

Among the more curious facts that we learn from these documents is one contained in "a report of 1609" (it is not said by whom) to the effect that the Sherley brothers arrived in Iran "exactly at the time when the king was wanting to send ambassadors to the Christian Princes, and to have them accompanied by persons acquainted with the ways, so that they should not go astray, as had happened two years before their arrival to one sent via the East Indies, and of whom no more news was ever heard". All other contemporary (and later) writers appear to be under the impression that it was Anthony who suggested to the Shah that he should be allowed to go on a mission to Europe to arrange an alliance with the Christian Princes against Turkey. Proposals for such an alliance had, it is true, often been made in the past, and already, in 1579, the Shah had sent an emissary to Portugal for this purpose; and in 1582, Fray Simon, of the Conception, had come to the Court of the Shah on a similar

errand, and Da Costa and Miranda, who arrived in Ispahan in 1589, had been sent on a like mission by Pope Clement VIII. One wonders whether Anthony was aware of these missions. To the abortive mission via India in 1597 I have been unable to find any other allusion.

In conclusion, let us congratulate the anonymous author of these fine volumes on his splendid achievement. The whole work is admirably produced and contains a number of illustrations and photographs of documents.

B. 433. E. DENISON ROSS.

PERSIAN BOOKS. By A. J. ARBERRY. Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part VI. pp. 571. Printed by order of the Secretary of State for India. London, 1937.

This Catalogue will be found by Persian scholars as indispensable as E. Edwards's List of Persian books in the British Museum. In addition to books in Persian and translations from Persian into European languages, some other works on Persia are occasionally found in the book. The system of cross-references, similar to that of the other catalogues of Oriental books belonging to the India Office Library, is simple and convenient. The transliteration looks somewhat unusual but, being consistent, it does not cause any inconvenience.

Mistakes are very rare indeed: (p. 231) Chodzko's *Djungui Chehâdet* must be *jung* "collection" and not *jang*; (p. 280) the learned author of the treatise on quinine must have pronounced *Majma' al-baḥrayn dar ta'rīf-i qwinayn* [*sic*]; (p. 397) read: West-östlicher Diwan. Russian names sometimes appear in the feminine (!): *Berezina* for *Berezin*, etc. These are mere trifles. On the whole and quite obviously, Dr. Arberry's catalogue represents an enormous mass of work and concentration.

B. 5. V. MINORSKY.

ANAHITA, GRUNDLEGENDES ZUR ARISCHEN METRIK. By HERMANN WELLER. Veröffentlichungen des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen: neuntes heft. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 154. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.

The bulk of this book, as the sub-title indicates, is taken up by a treatise on Indo-Īrānian metre. In the second half we have an annotated edition and translation of the fifth Yašt: the traditional transcription is used with certain modifications which serve to illustrate the author's metrical theories. These are fully set forth in the first part of the book. Against Meillet they vindicate the *ictus* as being the decisive factor in Indo-Īrānian verse. This, however, is not to be confused with the Vedic " accent " which is merely an indication of tone. Yet in the absence of any certain indication as to where the accent fell in Vedic or Avestan, any analysis of metre based on an accentual rather than a quantitive basis must be highly speculative. In the translation and brief introduction to the Yašt the author has followed Hertel. We will not, therefore, be surprised to find *aša-* translated " Urlicht " and *ašavan-* rendered by the sonorous " Urlichtstromdurchglühte ". Apart from this, the author is to be congratulated on his metrical rendering in which he has largely succeeded in capturing the spirit and rhythm of the Yašt.

B. 117. R. C. ZAEHNER.

HERĀT UNTER ḤUSEIN BAIQARA DEM TIMURIDEN. By W. BARTHOLD. Deutsche Bearbeitung von W. HINZ. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxii, 8.) $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. vii + 97, map 1. Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag F. A. Brockhaus, 1937.

It is dangerous to change the title which an author has chosen for his book, but here the change is for the better. Barthold published a pamphlet in Russian under the title

Mir 'Alī Shīr and Politics; the present publication is a German version of this. The hero of the story, so far as there is one, is the town of Herāt; the ruler, Ḥusain Baiqara, and his councillor, 'Alī Shīr, balance each other. Ḥusain was in some way a connection of Tīmūr and began life as a soldier of fortune. Finally he made himself master of Herāt and ruled an extensive dominion until his death. 'Alī Shīr was sometimes his minister and sometimes in honourable banishment as governor of Astarābād. The details of war and palace intrigue are boring. During this time Herāt was a centre of art and literature, 'Alī Shīr being famous as an author and for his encouragement of Turkī letters. The name of Barthold is a guarantee of good work, and the translator has done his work well.

B. 121. A. S. TRITTON.

CONTRIBUTION À LA GRAMMAIRE COMPARÉE DES LANGUES DU CAUCASE. By JACQUES VAN GINNEKEN. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeeling Letterkunde, new series, Part XLII. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$, pp. 138, pls. 5. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1938.

This is an important book of great interest to philologists and worthy of its reverend and learned author, Rector of the Catholic University of Nijmegen.

He rightly complains that there are far too few students of Caucasian: "une forêt vierge qui veut nous livrer tous ses mystères. Et plus on y pénétre, plus on observera que tout cela ne nous est pas étranger, mais nous fait voir et comprendre une phase jusqu'ici entièrement inconnue de notre propre histoire culturelle et linguistique . . . . Je ne connais aucune famille de langues, dont la grammaire comparée promet plus pour le développement de la linguistique entière que celle-ci."

Many years ago the late Professor N. Marr, of Moscow,

tried to go to South Africa to find out what traces of "Japhetic" might still be in the native speech of that region. Now we have from Holland a work dealing, among other things, with "clicks" and their relation to the Caucasian languages (especially Georgian) and justly claiming to be of value to linguists in general; for Semitic the probable origin of triliteral roots, for American lateral consonants, for Africa lateral and other clicks, for Indo-European traces of a lateral consonant.

The work ends with a tribute to the memory of his friend Prince N. Troubetzkoy (who died in exile in June, 1938), author of *Les consonnes latérales des langues "caucasiques"* (1922).

B. 210. O. WARDROP.

India

HISTORY OF KANAUJ TO THE MOSLEM CONQUEST. By R. S. TRIPATHI, Ph.D. 10 × 6½, pp. xx + 420. Indian Book Shop, Benares City, 1937. Rs. 7 or 15*s*.

This is an excellent account of the ancient city of Kanauj and the various kingdoms of which it was the capital. Legend, carefully summarized in the book, assigns it a high antiquity, but the numerous mounds in and near the existing town have never been excavated and many of them are now covered by Muslim buildings or tombs, so that the ancient history has not been traced. Some account might have been given of the coins which are found there.

In the fifth century A.D. Fa Hian was able to describe nothing of importance from his point of view. A century later the country round was ruled by the Maukharis, who probably made it their capital, and early in the seventh century it was the headquarters of the great ruler Harshavardhana, whose conquests and administration are fully described. Again the veil falls and little is known for two centuries till the Gurjara-Pratiharas, coming from the west established themselves here, and the greatness of their power

in Northern India excited the wonder of early Muslim writers. As this dynasty weakened the Haihayas of Chedi and the Chandellas dealt it heavy blows while the Palas of Bengal recovered Bihar and incursions by Mahmud of Ghazni began. Eighty years later the Gahadavalas came into prominence and ruled for a century before the Muslims extended their power over the country.

Dr. Tripathi shows fairness and discrimination in setting out and elucidating the numerous doubtful points in the political history and in addition provides useful discussions of the references in the inscriptions to fiscal, administrative, and religious affairs. Appendices include lists of the inscriptions, and tables of genealogies and dates, and there is an adequate index.

A few minor matters call for note. Modern Cawnpore was a mere village in 1778 when a British cantonment was founded there, and the anglicized spelling represents a corrupt pronunciation of Kanhaiyapur or Kanhipur, not of Karnapur or Kanakapur, so it cannot be the Kanagora of Ptolemy, as suggested at p. 17. At p. 209 Dr. Tripathi equates Padmavati with Narwar, but Mr. Lele has shown that it was more probably at Pawaya, twenty-five miles away (*Arch. Surv. Rep. India*, 1915 16, p. 103). Following other recent authorities Dr. Tripathi would explain the term Baüüra of Muslim writers as meant for Pratihara (p. 268), while Mr. S. H. Hodivala has recently suggested on the basis of certain readings of the MSS. that it is intended for Bhoja. It is a mistake to confuse the Khokhars and Gakhars (p. 288). The coins of Madanapala, usually assigned to the Pratihara of that name (p. 306), seem to me more probably to have been struck by Madanapala of the Budaun inscription. Coins of Amritapala of the same dynasty are known. At p. 349 the term *jalakara* is interpreted as a rate on water for irrigation. This is possible, but it also probably included a tax on the cultivation of water-nut and on fisheries.

A. 854.

R. BURN.

NOTAS AO LIVRO DAS PLANTAS DE TODAS AS FORTALEZAS DO ESTADO DA INDIA ORIENTAL. (Supplement to the new edition of the *Arquivo Português Oriental*, Tome IV, Vol. II.) Published in Bastorá, Portuguese India, 1938.

This work, by Dr. A. B. de Bragança Pereira, President of the Permanent Commission of Archæology, consists of notes to supplement the information on Portuguese strongholds and settlements in Africa, Arabia, on the Persian Gulf, and in India, collected by António Bocarro who was chronicler and Chief Archivist of the Goa Record Office from 1631 to 1643. Bocarro was also the author of *Decada* 13 of the History of India, the preceding sections of which had been written by the famous historians João de Barros (1496–1570) and Diogo do Couto (1542–1616). This thirteenth *Decada* was published in 1876 with a preface by Bulhão Pato.

Dr. de Bragança Pereira's volume is divided into six sections dealing respectively with Sofala, Mozambique, Mombassa, Curiate, Muscat, Soar, and Diu. The bibliographies at the end of the several chapters enhance the value of the work, which has interesting illustrations, is well documented, and makes available much information, hitherto inaccessible to the general reader, respecting the commercial and administrative relationships existing between Portuguese possessions in Africa and Asia.

In the preface to the *Notas*, Dr. Pereira mentions some of the principal sources from which his work is derived. Among these are the geographical and historical studies by that famous sixteenth-century traveller Duarte Barbosa, who acted as interpreter in India to Albuquerque. For details regarding administration, the Records of Simão Botelho (1554) and of Francisco Paes (1592) have been utilized. Recourse has also been had to statistics compiled by António Nunes in 1554 respecting weights, measures, and coinage in India.

The most profitable method of studying the *Notas* would be in conjunction with Bocarro's treatise, also edited by Dr. Pereira, to which they serve as supplement. Bocarro

sent his manuscript, in duplicate, to Europe from Goa, in the year 1635. The edition now being published by Dr. Pereira is based on the copy preserved in the Public Library of the ancient cathedral city of Evora. Another copy was discovered in 1790 in the Royal Library at Madrid. The plans of the strongholds which illustrate Bocarro's work were supplied by Pero Barreto de Resende, Secretary to Conde de Linhares, Viceroy of Portuguese India from 1629 to 1635. In the Sloane Collection in the British Museum there is a copy of a work by Barreto de Resende, dated 1646, containing details of several fortresses in the possession of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia. Another copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Dr. Pereira has rendered signal service by drawing attention to certain errors in the works of his predecessors and by extending the scope of Bocarro's work through the inclusion, in the *Notas*, of details of strongholds which did not come into the possession of Portugal until a later period than that of Bocarro.

Space does not allow of quotation from the work under consideration, which is an important contribution to the history of the Overseas Dominions of Portugal, and reveals the profound scholarship of the author.

B. 272. E. ROSENTHAL.

DAKAN MÈ URDU. BY NAṢĪR UD DĪN HASHIMI. Third Edition. 7 × 5, pp. 10 + 48 + 322 + vi. Hyderabad, Dn.: Ibrahimiya Press, 1936.

This is a third edition of a very useful book first published twelve years ago by a Daknī author whom we already know. He has made a study of his province, and his books show the value of such specialized research.

Remembering the prominence in Urdū of early Daknī literature, we give a warm welcome to this discussion of the contribution of the Deccan to the literature of that language. In my *History of Urdū Literature* I emphasized the importance

of the Deccan, but histories of Urdū Literature written in Urdū, have until recently minimized it. Āzād practically ignored it; 'Abd ul Ḥay in *Gul i Ra'nā* and 'Abd us Salām in *Shi'r ul Hind* devoted only a few pages to the Deccan. The Daknīs themselves, however, have endeavoured to redress the balance. *Maḥbūb uz Zaman* is an anthology of 1,242 pages which deals with Daknī authors alone. It was written seventy years ago and has long been out of print. Now we have the work which is before us.

Most Urdū authors seem to think that Valī is the only Daknī writer worth mentioning, but Hāshimī in this volume describes seventy authors before Valī, who does not appear till p. 206. This fact alone is sufficient to indicate the value of this work for a study of Daknī literature.

The author has divided the six hundred years into seven periods. The first, with only three names, is from 1346 to 1495; the second, with nearly seventy, ends in 1689. The remaining five end respectively in 1723, 1805, 1883, 1916, and 1936.

Urdū writers never seem able to escape from the idea that old Urdū is by its very antiquity inferior to the Urdū of the present day. To use modern words and idioms is a virtue. They would put Chaucer and Spenser below Austin Dobson and John Masefield. Hāshimī is not generally subject to this delusion, and does not condemn men for writing the language of their time.

Dakan mẽ Urdū is well worth studying. Since writing it the author has written a companion volume called *Madrās mẽ Urdū*. I venture to suggest to him that he should now produce a book confined to Daknī literature before 1689, from Banda Navāz, who, however, was not a Daknī, to Nūrī, Hāshimī, and Mirzā, in which he might treat the earlier writers at greater length and give real literary criticism of each one while paying only scant attention to biographical details.

B. 335. T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

STILISTISCHE STUDIE OVER ATHARVAVEDA, I–VII. Door J. GONDA. 10 × 6½, pp. 96. Wageningen: H. Veenman and Zonen, 1938. Fl. 2.40.

This paper deals with the repetitive phrases, refrains, alliterations, and similar phenomena occurring in the first seven books of the *Atharvaveda*. The facts are carefully marshalled and fully set out, and their significance is explained by comparison with parallel usages in many other languages, ancient and modern. In discussing the reasons for the use of these stylistic methods, Professor Gonda emphasizes the point that their purpose is not to be confounded with that which led later writers to the prodigal employment of rhetorical figures, and he analyses the primitive motives, magical, psychological, etc., which found utterance in them. While this is no doubt true, I question the wisdom of entirely excluding the æsthetic impulse, and feel that the pursuit of these and the like practices throughout the range of Indian literature should be drastically reconsidered from the point of view of the impression it was desired to produce on audiences by their adoption.

It is to be regretted that the author should have chosen Dutch as his medium for a highly specialized and valuable paper, which is of interest to few except Sanskritists. He has thereby limited its currency in Europe and made it almost inaccessible to Indians, who form after all the most considerable body of Sanskrit scholars and who already have enough difficulties to contend with in ascertaining the results of European research.

B. 317.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

CONTRIBUTO ALLO STUDIO SULLA CONCEZIONE E SULLO SVILUPPO STORICO DELL' APSARAS. By GIUSEPPINA BORSANI. Pubblicazioni della Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Serie dodicesima. Scienze Orientali. Vol. III. 10 × 6¾, pp. ix + 129. Milano: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero", 1938.

This is a straightforward study of the conception of the Apsarases in the Vedic and epic literature with a more summary sketch of their fate in classical literature, in Buddhism, and Jainism. The writer has no startling novelties to propose; the derivation from *ap-saras* is adopted without hesitation, and the Apsarases are accepted as water nymphs, a view which certainly accounts for the Ṛgvedic account of them. It is held that their appearance as dryads is essentially a case of contamination (p. 27) with Dravidian Indian faiths, and it is denied that we can go back to an Indo-European ancestry; in this case at least we should accept Pischel's denial that there are any but Indian myths in the Veda. The hostile traits of the Apsarases, which the *Atharvaveda* recognizes, their power to cause madness or death, against which exorcism and magic rites are invoked, are traced to their character as dryads; we find them invoked to bestow blessings on spouses. Those who can thus aid can also injure. The view is ingenious. More curious is the connection of Apsarases with dicing, traced by De Gubernatis to confusion of the roots *div-* "shine", and *div-* "play", while V. Henry found the connection through the ambiguity of *krīḍ-* applied to the play of the waves and to dicing as the sport *par excellence*. Or was the connection due to the use in dicing of the nut of the Vibhītaka tree? We may agree, as against Holtzmann, that the swans of the *Nala* were not Apsarases, but the view taken of Rāthajiteyī and Śvanvatī (p. 24) is dubious; *ratha* as "joy" is far from established, and the Apsarases as taking the shapes of dogs are uncertain. The useful little book has the merit of a good index and careful production.

B. 279. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE PĀLI CANON. Part III: Buddhavaṃsa, the Lineage of the Buddhas, and Cariyā-piṭaka or the Collection of Ways of Conduct. Translated by B. C. LAW. 9 × 6, pp. xiv + 130. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938. 10s.

Although these two works deserve to come into the series of translations, they are hardly likely to rouse as much interest as some of the earlier anthologies. Mrs. Rhys Davids finds that in the first of them the childish elaboration of the Relic-business rears its ugly head, and in the second that all manliness has shrivelled in the hero of some of the tales. The translation reads smoothly, but it occasionally rouses surprise. We read that "stars and planets shine in the sun's disc", a strange place for *nakṣatras* and even planets to shine, but really there is no mention of the sun here. The word translated "sun's disc" is *gaganamaṇḍala*. A note given here tells us that "Visākhā is the name of a planet". One really hesitates to attribute this to Dr. Law. The dictionary would have been helpful, even if it were not clear that the reference is to Buddha's birth and the *nakṣatra* under which he was born. Is not the month of his birth still known as Wesak to the Buddhists who belong to what Mrs. Rhys Davids here calls "degenerate Indian (and South Asiatic) Buddhism?" There are some good emendations, but chiefly of readings of the Pali Text Society's edition. More important are the readings that imply a different tradition, such as a name for Buddha's wife quite different from the others found here and elsewhere in the Pāli. These are ignored, as well as the important fact that long passages of the work with still greater variations occur in the *Mahāvastu*. What does it mean that one of the earliest dissenting sects also used this text? There are a few remarks on the composition of the *Cariyā-piṭaka*, but they cannot be said to have much weight until they are established against the bewildering theories of Charpentier and Winternitz.

R. 245.

E. J. THOMAS.

LE KUMĀRATANTRA DE RĀVAṆA, et les textes parallèles indiens, chinois, cambodgien et arabe. Par JEAN FILLIOZAT. Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, IV. 8¾ × 5½, pp. v + 188. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1937. Frs. 50.

The *Kumāratantra* of Rāvana is a short text, forming part of the *Cikitsāsaṅgraha* of Cakradatta (composed *c.* 1050 A.D.), concerned with the possession of infants by evil spirits, and the diseases resulting therefrom. Although not possessing great intrinsic interest, it is remarkable for its wide diffusion both inside and outside India, and the variety of versions in which it appears. In the present exceedingly thorough and able piece of work the author has collected these versions. Besides the *Kumāratantra* itself, he deals with the parallel section of the medical Saṃhitās, and prints a versified parallel from Vāgbhaṭa's work. In addition a Tamil version of comparatively modern date provides interesting material for comparison. Outside India there are four Tibetan versions, of which the most interesting is taken from the medical compendium attributed to Bhaiṣajyaguru, a highly important work for the study of Indian medicine, and preserved only in Tibetan translation. The Buddhists have been responsible for the introduction of the work also into China. Further a version of the work is found as far away as Cambodia, while Ṭabarī introduces the work to the Arabs.

Another feature of interest with which the author deals is the fact that while incorporated in medical works, it is in direct contradiction to the principles of Indian medicine. The work is purely magical, while Indian medicine is based on science, even if wrong science. The science of medicine developed out of magical practices, and its establishment, even on pseudo-scientific principles, represents a highly important step forward in the advancement of civilization. Naturally the change is slow, and for a long time there is a mixture of the two methods of approach; from the point of view of cultural history their interlocking is of considerable

interest. Curiously enough, no attempt is made by the writers in question to reconcile the two; these magical sections are introduced abruptly, in glaring contradiction to the general tenor of the works to which they belong. In the main they would appear to be concessions to popular sentiment.

This question leads the author on to a general discussion of Bhūtavidyā or the science of demons in India, in the course of which he collects a variety of useful information. It is interesting to note that the theories represented in the Kumāratantra appear to have acquired to a large extent their characteristic form as early as Vedic times.

The work displays all the characteristics of sound scholarship, including a knowledge of Indian medicine, which is probably unsurpassed anywhere at the present time.

A. 941. T. BURROW.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA. Vols. I, II, and III. Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$. Vol. I: pp. xxx + 608, pls. 35. Vol. II: pp. ix + 617, pls. 65. Vol. III: pp. x + 692, pls. 27. Calcutta: Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Belur Math, 1936–7.

Of modern reform movements in Hindu religion, three have attained sufficient importance to have an appreciable effect on Indian life—the Brahma Samāj, the Ārya-samāj, and the Ramakrishna-Vivekānanda movement. All are, to a large extent, attempts at adjustment on the part of the Hindu tradition on contact with the West, either professedly so as in the case of Ram Mohun Roy, or as, especially in the case of Dayananda, alleging a return to purer Hindu beliefs of older times. Little in the life of Ramakrishna, whose life is described at length here, is suggestive of modernity. His character is typical of the hundreds of *bhaktas* who preceded him. What did characterize him peculiarly was a remarkable facility for passing from one religion to another and professing them all with equal enthusiasm. This formed a basis for the

non-sectarian character of the movement, which was built up and took its present shape chiefly as a result of the efforts of Svami Vivekananda. The avowed aim of the movement is the application of Hinduism to modern life.

To celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ramakrishna, a committee was formed to bring out the present work. Scholars from all over India have contributed no less than a hundred articles dealing with all the main aspects of Indian religion and civilization. The first two volumes deal with religion, the third with the various branches of Indian culture in general. In the first volume are treated the Vedic and Epic periods and the classical systems of philosophy. The second volume is devoted to the medieval and modern movements, notably the *bhakti* religions that sprang up everywhere during this period. It concludes with a long account of the life of Ramakrishna and the history of the movement founded by him. The third volume deals with literature, art, architecture, politics, medicine, technology, etc., as developed in ancient India. We have thus an encyclopædia of Indian culture which will no doubt be found very useful by many. The chief fault, as one would expect in such a work, is repeated overstatement as regards the merits and achievements of the ancient Indians. But, apart from that, a great deal of useful information has been gathered together and presented in a readable form. The work is admirably illustrated with nearly 200 plates which greatly add to its interest. An index could profitably have been added.

B. 53. T. BURROW.

THE EASTERN CĀLUKYAS. By D. C. GANGULY. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp. vi + 228. Benares: Published by the author, 1937.

The eastern branch of the Chālukyas ruled the Telugu country for over six centuries, including the two in which they ruled the Tamils also. Their history Dr. Ganguly

discusses, reign by reign, in six chapters, each of which represents a well-marked phase in the fortunes of the dynasty. To this he adds short accounts of three later chieftaincies claiming Chālukya descent, and three of their leading feudatories Kōna, Vēlanāḍ and Nādēṇḍla. Of their culture he has little to say, for the golden age of Telugu literature had not yet come, and in architecture Telugu achievement was not great.

Many new inscriptions have been published since 1891, when Fleet sketched out the dynastic chronology, and this modest little book serves a useful purpose in bringing into one view evidence scattered through a host of journals. The table of inscriptions (pp. 209–215), with full references, will help scholars who dare not ignore the part played by this dynasty in peninsular politics. On Gaṅga history (pp. 59–60) Dr. Ganguly goes astray, mixing up the "Rājamallas" and "Būtugas" and ignoring Ereyappa Mahēndrāntaka, who broke the Noḷamba Mahēndra years after Vijayāditya III was dead; the Mangi slain by him could not have been Mahēndra. Kāḷahasti (pp. 14, 197) has not been in N. Arcot since 1911, but it is hard to keep up with the incessant changes of district boundaries in Madras.

A. 958. F. J. RICHARDS.

LA SOMME DU GRAND VÉHICULE D'ASAṄGA (MAHĀYĀNASAṀGRAHA). Par ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. Tome I, Fasc. 1, and Tome II, Fasc. 1. Bibliothèque du Muséon, 7. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$. Tome I, pp. viii + 47, pls. 11. Tome II, pp. viii + 152 + 24. Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1938. Belgas 10 and 18.

Buddhist scholarship in the last thirty years has done much to make the works of that great thinker, Asaṅga, available to us, and a substantial step forward is being taken by Professor Lamotte in the present book, in which he presents us with Hiuan-tsang's translation of the *Mahāyānasaṁgraha*,

a critical text of the Tibetan translation and an annotated French translation. These two fascicules cover the first two chapters, and it is wiser to defer comment on the further light thrown on Asaṅga's thought, till the edition is complete. But it may be observed that, as is fitting with a pupil of the late lamented Professor de la Vallée Poussin, the work leaves nothing to be desired in the way of accurate and perspicuous translation, of rich documentation, and of full mastery of scholastic details; particularly valuable are the numerous extracts from Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya* and from the commentary called *Upanibandhana*. On one small point I may be allowed to add a further detail; the stanza *anādikāliko dhātuḥ*, quoted from the *Abhidharmasūtra* in i, 1, is cited again in the *Uttaratantra*, which should, according to the MSS. of the Sanskrit text recently discovered in Tibet, be properly called the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, and it is there given an entirely different application, as may be seen from Obermiller's translation, *Acta Orientalia*, ix, p. 230.

B. 165. E. H. JOHNSTON.

ŚRĪ YŌGĪNDUDEVA'S PARAMĀTMAPRAKĀŚA, an Apabhraṃśa work on Jaina Mysticism, the Apabhraṃśa text edited with BRAHMADĒVA'S Sanskrit commentary and DAULATARĀMA'S Hindi translation, with a critical introduction, etc., and also YŌGASĀRA, critically edited with the Sanskrit chāyā and with the Hindi translation of PANDIT JAGADISHCHANDRA. By A. N. UPADHYE. 10 × 7, pp. xii + 92 + 125 + 396. Bombay: Sheth Manilal Revashankar Jhaveri for the Parama-Śruta-prabhavatra-Maṇḍala, 1937. Rs. 4/8.

The scope of this important work may be seen from the title. It is unfortunately the fact that editions of Jaina works do not always come up to the requirements of modern scholarship, but Professor Upadhye's splendid achievement seems to meet all the demands that might be made by anyone who wishes to study the work in close connection with literary

and historical facts. It is also carried out in an impartial and scientific spirit that is truly admirable, and it has valuable indexes. The editor's introduction (which is also summarized in Hindi) discusses the state of the texts, the authorship, and the affiliation of the MSS., summarizes the contents, and expounds the philosophy and mysticism of the author. He also makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Apabhraṃśa dialects.

Jainism is not usually thought of as a mystical system. It is mystical because there were Jaina authors like Kundakunda and Yogīndu who were by nature mystics. The *Paramātmaprakāśa* is in two sections embracing 300 verses mostly in the dohā metre. The first is on paramātman and ātman. Professor Upadhye calls Yogīndu eclectic, but the fact is rather that he adopts the mystical expressions of the Upanishads, Yoga, and Buddhism, and interprets them in his own way. Much of what he says of the paramātman reads exactly like Vedānta, and yet we find that the paramātman for him is plural. It would seem that he wishes to convince other schools not by refuting them, but by showing them the true interpretation of their doctrines in Jainism. The second chapter is on moksha, and the Jaina doctrine is more distinct, but there too we find that Hara, Hari, and Brahman meditate on moksha. The *Yogasāra* is a shorter work on the same subject, and appears to be the only other work of Yogīndu that is certainly genuine.

B. 1. E. J. THOMAS.

UNSTERBLICHKEIT UND ERLÖSUNG IN DEN INDISCHEN RELIGIONEN. By H. v. GLASENAPP. Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft. 14 Jahr. Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse. Heft 1. 10 × 7, pp. x + 72. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1938. R.M. 5·40.

This work, as the title implies, deals with two theological subjects, and not primarily with any particular religion in

which they are found. It treats Indian religion as a great stream of thought, and takes in order the subjects of immortality, length of earthly life, life after death, soul-theories, karma, transition to a new existence, breaking of the fetters of karma, ways of salvation, the stages of the path, the practical conduct of the seeker, the released, and the numerous ideas of release found in Indian systems. The author is also interested in the parallel conceptions found in other religions, and makes frequent comparisons. The book is thus excellently adapted for expounding the development of certain ideas that emerge in the various systems, and it is richly furnished with references. On the other hand, if one were interested in the doctrines of any particular school it would be no easy matter to extract them. Thus the section on the breaking of the fetters of karma begins with two quotations, one from the *Mahābhārata* and one from the *Dhammapada*, and against these a statement in the *Yoga-sūtrabhāṣya*. Then the belief that the thought of a dying person can determine the nature of his next birth is brought forward as proof that he can give a new value (*umwerten*) to the accumulated karma of his past life. This is illustrated by the medieval Christian practice of becoming a monk shortly before death, and is compared with the Jain method of death by hunger. Another way of ameliorating karma, we are told, is the help of friends in producing a good state of mind in the dying person. Buddhaghoṣa and the Tibetan Book of the Dead say so. There are also the Hindu *śrāddhas*, and (said to be borrowed from them) the Buddhist sacrifices for the dead. Mahāyāna has developed an extensive worship of the dead (found to-day in China, Japan, and Tibet), and in Tantrism there is still more. Finally, there is transference of merit, and the whole law of karma is shattered. That it is shattered is taken for granted by the author, and no question is raised whether this logical consequence was actually drawn in the many systems discussed. A certain alertness is thus required to distinguish statements that rest wholly upon

the author's theories from those which may be substantiated from the texts.

B. 129. E. J. THOMAS.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. English Records of Maratha History. 9¾ × 6. Bombay: Government Central Press.

Vol. I. MAHADJI SINDHIA AND NORTH INDIA AFFAIRS, 1785–1794. pp. xxiii + 415. 9*s.*

Vol. II. POONA AFFAIRS, 1786–1797. pp. 40 + 552, 1936. 13*s.*

Vol. III. ALLIES' WAR WITH TIPU SULTAN, 1790–3. pp. xxxvi + 694. 12*s.*

Vol. IV. MARATHA-NIZAM RELATIONS, 1792–5. pp. xxii + 300. 7*s.*

These volumes most profitably follow up the series of Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, with greater utility for the ordinary reader, since they are in English, while the Selections were published in their original Marāṭhī form. Their publication has, in the straitened financial circumstances of the Bombay Government, only been possible through the devotion of the editors, and particularly of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, who have edited the Records as a labour of love, and have supplemented them by research among papers preserved at Calcutta and Pondicherry. These volumes supply countless details of the courts and campaigns of Western India during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. They show how the British power and prestige were gradually built up after the doubtful wars with the Marāṭhās and with Mysore, partly through the weaknesses and internal feuds at the courts of the Peshwa and the Nizam, and the successful alliance against Tipu in 1791. This growth was also largely attributable to the ability and character of the British representatives, the two Andersons at Sindhia's Camp, Kennaway and Kirkpatrick at the Nizam's

Camp and, above all, Charles Warre Malet at Poona. The last named was pre-eminent, and it is possible to form some estimate of the loss caused to British interests, and particularly to Bombay, by his premature retirement in just resentment over his supersession in the Governorship of Bombay by the blameless but colourless Jonathan Duncan, a supersession due to Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, who moreover failed to give his political representatives the support which they always received from Cornwallis. Malet's minutes on the Military System of the Marāṭhās, and on the necessity for increasing the army and the naval strength of the Bombay Presidency, are especially noteworthy. He was fully aware of the defects of people who, as he writes, " are as incapable of pursuing their object by direct means as the serpent is of proceeding in a straight line." But he was on excellent terms with Nana Fadnavis and the other Brāhman Ministers, and it was largely his support of the Marāṭhā case, and his view that the Nizam was in effect tributary to the Marāṭhās, that induced Shore, when the hostilities broke out between these powers in 1795, to adopt the policy of non-intervention in the struggle. The good feeling generally existing between the English and the Marāṭhās is illustrated in a letter to Malet from Sir Archibald Campbell, the Governor of Madras. " If the French should join Tippoo in his attempts against the Mahrattas, I am so fond of our old allies the Mahrattas and wish so much to see them enjoy every degree of respect and prosperity that I shall never be happy if we do not support them. I declare to you upon my honour that I love the Mahrattas so much that I shall take pleasure in taking the field for their support." Full justice is done to the patient skill with which Cornwallis made the best of dilatory and refractory allies, and conducted the operations of his own army in the war against Tipu from 1790 to 1792. As regards the latter there is ample evidence in these volumes of his cruelty, continual bad faith, and what one correspondent calls his " reckless lying ". Special note should be made of

the admirable tone of the introductions to the volumes, and the impartiality of their judgments. Where so much ground is covered, errors must occur and the following may be noted for inclusion in any list of errata :—

Vol. II, p. 36 : "surprised in a fortified island," should read "surprised at Fortified Island", the name usually given to Basavarajdrug, an islet near Honavar.

Vol. II : letters 375 and 376 should be dated 1795, not 1796.

Vol. III, p. 267 : for "his wish for the English", read "his wish for an Engineer".

Vol. III, p. 527 : for "Lieut. Tueworker", read "Lieut. Fireworker".

These volumes only cover the first twenty out of over 100 Files in the Records, and even out of these twenty, which refer to Malet's period, much matter of interest remains unpublished, particularly with reference to the smaller States of Western India. We may echo the hope of Mr. Sardesai that Government and the public will not allow the work to remain incomplete.

B. 179, B. 180, B. 181, B. 182. P. R. CADELL.

A GRAMMAR OF THE SINHALESE LANGUAGE. By Professor WILHELM GEIGER, Ph.D. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxiv + 200. Colombo : The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, 1938. Rs. 3/- or 2/50.

Among the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars there is perhaps none which surpasses the Sinhalese language in its peculiar philological interest. Separated over two thousand years ago from the main body of its cognate languages, it developed in its island home, coming at times into intimate contact with Tamil, the most highly cultivated of the Dravidian tongues. The Sinhalese language, moreover, can boast of what no other Indo-Aryan vernacular possesses, a continuous

series of documents from the third century B.C. up to modern times, the earliest extant literary works dating from about the tenth century, so that the various stages by which a Prakritic dialect assumed its modern form can be worked out in considerable detail.

It will therefore be a matter of gratification to all students of Indian linguistic science in general and of the culture of Ceylon in particular, that a grammar of the Sinhalese language, on thoroughly scientific lines, has at last been compiled by so competent a scholar as the veteran philologist, Professor Wilhelm Geiger, whose intense interest in the study of the island's literature and history has extended for nearly half a century.

In the present study Professor Geiger has based his conclusions not only on his investigations into the modern colloquial forms and the literature, both ancient and modern, but also on an examination of all the epigraphical material that has so far been published. In dealing with phonological questions he has introduced order into the multitude of variant forms in use at one and the same time, which often have proved a source of perplexity to the investigator. What he has to say about vowel-levelling, vowel-assimilation, and umlaut—the last a peculiarly interesting phenomenon in the Sinhalese language—will no doubt be read with much interest by scholars. The author also deals exhaustively with the morphology of the language, but he has left the study of its syntax for a later occasion. It is hoped that a work from the same competent pen on that important aspect of the language will not be long in appearing.

Some of the proposed equations of the Sinhalese with Sanskrit words, e.g. Sinh. *kuruḷu* (bird) with Sk. *garuḍa* (p. 24), and Sinh. *moḷok* (soft) with Sk. *komala* (p. 26), may not find universal acceptance, and, in these and a few other instances, it may perhaps be said with justification that the learned author has not given due consideration to the cognate Tamil forms. One or two of the proposed theories regarding

the historical development of the language will perhaps have to be modified when the considerable mass of unpublished epigraphical records, particularly those belonging to the period between the fifth and ninth centuries, are properly studied.

Whatever one's opinion may be on these points, there can be no doubt as to the permanent value of the present work, which must undoubtedly be the foundation for all future scientific studies of the Sinhalese language. A complete index of all the Sinhalese words given as examples makes the book easy of reference.

B. 192. S. PARANAVITANA.

HYMNES ET PRIÈRES DU VEDA. Traduit par LOUIS RENOU. 9 × 5¾, pp. viii + 164. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1938.

This volume contains translations of forty hymns from the Rigveda, as well as a number from the Atharvaveda and a few excerpts from other works, and is intended more for the educated public than for scholars. As is to be expected from the author's reputation, the renderings are sound and take note of recent research, without following it slavishly; they are also, unlike some other translations from this class of literature, intelligible without reference to the Sanskrit. The purpose of the work necessarily excludes discussion of difficult passages where more than one explanation is possible, but those who cannot read the hymns in the original may rest assured that they will find here a well-made selection, interpreted on lines to which specialists will not take exception.

B. 208. E. H. JOHNSTON.

Das indogermanische Neujahrsopfer im Veda. By Johannes Hertel. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, 90 Band, 1938, 1 Heft. pp. 190. M. 7.

The views expressed in this contribution by Professor Hertel are upon lines now familiar. Professor Oldenberg appears as usual as distinguished by his failure to understand "Ariertum", by his use of the late Vedic ritual to explain the *Ṛgveda*, and his distortion of Aryan ideals in the light of the Old Testament. On the contrary we are invited to see in the Āprī hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, which the Brāhmaṇa tradition early connects with the animal sacrifice, a parallel to the new year festival which Dr. Huth in his *Janus* (1932) has expounded from Italian and German sources. Like Janus, Agni is the lord of life and death, for at the end of the year life dies with him. He is the personification of the heavenly powers of light, whence proceed the immortal powers of nature, and he is the source of mortal things. Indra is merely the parallel of Agni among certain Aryan clans. Sarasvatī, therefore, in the Āprī hymns is an East Iranian stream (p. 137), Bhāratī the name of a former East Iranian kingdom, and so on. Soma and rain are fluid forms of the heavenly fire. *Ζεὺς ὕει* means (p. 83) that the heaven of light presses out the rain from the celestial press-stones. Rv., x, 119, is to be put in the mouth of Agni (p. 91) as the *śyena*. The exclamation *svāhā* has been long misunderstood (pp. 143 ff.). It is *sv-ābhā*, as an instrumental, "durch gute Zustrahlung." This and other parts of the thesis are maintained with wide knowledge and much assurance. But it is difficult to believe that the author has established his central doctrine that the connection of the Āprī hymns with the animal sacrifice is not Rigvedic, though admittedly it is found in the *Yajurveda*. His theories as to light and fire neither gain nor lose strength from their latest exposition; on the whole they remain more ingenious than plausible.

B. 242. A. Berriedale Keith.

VIMUTTIMAGGA AND VISUDDHIMAGGA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. By P. V. BAPAT. 9¾ × 6¼. pp. lix + 171, pl. 1. Poona: P. V. Bapat, 1937. Rs. 10.

That Buddhaghosa, in composing the *Visuddhimagga*, was strongly influenced by other schools of thought than that to which he belonged is patent enough to need no argument, and in fact the existence has been known for some time of a work attributed to a certain Upatiṣya and preserved in a Chinese translation, which evidently stands in close connection with it. Professor Bapat therefore makes a substantial addition to our knowledge of Buddhaghosa's sources in undertaking in the book under review a detailed comparison of the two and in showing how close the correspondence is both in the general scheme of contents and in many details. For convenience he has translated passages from the Chinese into Pāli; but there is also a Tibetan version of the third chapter, that on the *dhutaguṇas*, which occurs twice, once as 306 of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and once as 4143 of the *Bstan-ḥgyur* according to the numbering of the Sge-dge catalogue (only one of these seems to be known to the author), and these versions give the title of the book as *Vimuktimārga* without any author's name, and suggest that the original was in Sanskrit. In an admirable introduction Professor Bapat sets out the results of his analysis and puts forward a theory which covers all the facts and should prove acceptable to most scholars. He argues that the *Vimuktimārga* was written in India in Sanskrit at a period substantially before that of Buddhaghosa, that it was recognized as a standard work in the Abhayagirivihāra of Ceylon, and that Buddhaghosa refers to it specifically in those passages where accordin to Dhammapāla he controverts the views prevailing in that monastery.

The extent, however, of Buddhaghosa's debt to the older treatise is not entirely clear from this book, and it is much to be desired that some expert in this class of work should attempt to restore the original text of the third chapter from

the Tibetan and Chinese translations with the help of the parallels in the *Visuddhimagga*, in order to elucidate the precise character of the relationship. Nor on the information before us is it possible to ascertain the school to which Upatiṣya belonged, though it looks as if his work on further examination may be found to contain enough indications to settle the point. Professor Bapat has not therefore tried to answer all the questions raised by the existence of the *Vimuktimārga*, but his book is a solid and valuable contribution to the solution of an interesting and difficult problem.

. 107. E. H. JOHNSTON.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

RĀJA-GṚIHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE. 13 × 10, pp. 44, pls. 2, figs. 4. KAUŚĀMBĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE. 13 × 10, pp. 22, pls. 1, figs. 3, map 1. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. Nos. 58 and 60. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938, 1939. *Rs.* 2–12–0, *Rs.* 1–10–0.

Rājgīr with its neighbourhood plays such a large part in Buddhist texts, that its topography has been much canvassed by scholars since the days of Cunningham, and it was an excellent idea of Dr. Law's to collect the references in older literature to the city. His memoir will form an admirable starting point for further research on the subject; for he has brought together everything that is to the point in the Pāli books and much that is useful from Jain and Sanskrit sources. The omissions from the latter are not of great importance, though it would have been better to note Aśvaghoṣa's numerous references in his works, some of which are of considerable interest, and in the section on religious history to have quoted the *Mahāmāyūrī* for the Yakṣas worshipped in and around Rājagṛha.

The memoir is possibly not meant to be a contribution to our knowledge of the topography, and it is certainly less satisfactory on that side. For some reason not explained no map has been provided, though a detailed one of the neighbourhood, showing the lie of the various ranges, was obviously necessary to make the text intelligible. Nor has the modern literature of the subject been fully exploited, and in particular many of us will regret that, like other Indian scholars, Dr. Law should have ignored the work of the late Mr. V. W. H. Jackson, who united to an unusual capacity for accurate observation a remarkably intimate knowledge of the whole neighbourhood, such as can be claimed by none of his predecessors or successors. Some of his identifications, such as those of the Buddhavana mountain and its cave with *gośīrṣa* sandal, were unquestionably right, and the author would have done a real service by tracing out Mr. Jackson's papers from the various periodicals in which they appeared and by considering them critically in the light of modern knowledge.

The other memoir is slighter and perhaps a little premature, as the site of Kauśāmbī has still to be fully excavated and may have surprises in store for us; for instance, an inscription from Kosam, mentioning the Badarikārāma, has been recently published, though not in time to enable its evidence to be reckoned with here. Like its predecessor, this memoir is full on the Pāli side, but fails to elucidate the crucial question how much historical fact can be distilled from the legends which accumulated round the figure of Udayana; on this point the important work done by Lacôte on the *Bṛhatkathā* and by Przyluski on Piṇḍola and Udayana, of which no use has been made, is highly suggestive.

B. 368, 453. E. H. Johnston.

ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY ABROAD. By KALIDAS NAG. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. ix + 125, pls. 20. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1937.

In 1930 Dr. Nag was invited to lecture in New York and to study "intellectual co-operation" at Geneva. With the aid of a travelling fellowship granted by the University of Calcutta he was able to undertake a tour through Europe and America, and incidentally to ascertain the facilities offered at various centres to Indian students for research in art and archæology. His report deals mainly with France, Italy, and the United States of America, all very much alive. He has a lot to say about Greece (including the time-worn gibe at Lord Elgin's vandalism), something about Turkey, Syria, Persia, Irāq, and Latin America; curiously little about Germany and Great Britain, and some hard things about Indian apathy. His plates, a cosmopolitan assemblage ranging from China to Peru, are excellent.

B. 40. F. J. RICHARDS.

Biblical Archæology

THE PHARISEES: THE SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THEIR FAITH. By LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Provost and Solomon Schechter Professor of Theology at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Two volumes. Morris Loeb Series. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 793. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1938.

In recording attempts at rehabilitating Judas Iscariot D. F. Strauss observed that the intellect, freed from its long subjection to authority, took a delight in reversing Biblical judgments. This revulsion has at last come to the help of the Pharisees, whom, having been denounced in both Christian and Rabbinic literature, it is now the fashion to eulogize. One recent writer charges the Gospel with distortion of the

facts; another makes the Pharisees progressive reformers, and a third heirs of the prophets. The present work is not so much a eulogy of them as an expansion of Josephus's statement that the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, while the Pharisees have the multitude on their side. The author on the whole identifies these sects or parties respectively with patricians and plebeians, names belonging to the early history of Rome, which it is not quite easy to accommodate to that of Israel. He endeavours to deduce what is recorded of their respective tenets from social and economical conditions. And since wealth and poverty did not originate in Maccabæan times, he traces the antithesis through the greater part of the Old Testament, and continues it beyond the termination of the Jewish state. According to the Gospels the Sadducees denied the resurrection of the dead, and it is added in the Acts that they also denied the existence of angels. Some ingenuity is required to connect acceptance or rejection of these beliefs with social conditions. The process by which it is accomplished in the case of the former is represented by the following sentences: "It is not among those who have enjoyed the triumphs of this world that we should look for preoccupation with the consolations of the next." "The patricians were not content with monopolizing this life; they even begrudged the poor another and better life beyond the grave." The first of these propositions may contain a modicum of truth; for the second (happily) no evidence is or probably can be produced.

With regard to angels the "plebeian" attitude seems to have veered round curiously. Prior to the Exile "passionately devoted to freedom, the plebeians could not impute to God the slave-holding which they considered an imperfection in human society". (Obviously all the passages in which Moses is called the "servant", literally "slave", of JHVH must be due to patricians.) After the Return they changed their minds. "Angelology like the resurrection was a deep-seated psychological need of the market-place and the shop; the

mansion and the palace were hesitant to accept it." For some reason or other the angels had been transformed from slaves into immortal emissaries.

The separation of the patrician from the plebeian elements in the Wisdom literature, the Psalms, and the Lamentations leads to some curious results. Thus Ecclesiastes is found to have emanated from a "sceptical, cynical, plebeian circle", only anti-toxic glosses were added to it by the patricians and pietists whom it attacked. Now whatever be meant by "plebeians", whether poor people or those of humble station or those of low caste, it is against experience to attribute scepticism to them.

The title of the work is somewhat misleading, since more than half is occupied with meditations or speculations about the Old Testament Scriptures, very little of which can be as late as the origin of these sects, which make their appearance after Greek influence had been felt in Palestine. Of these speculations it is sufficient here to say that the writer's powers of deduction outdo those of Sherlock Holmes. Thus from Haggai's styling himself the "messenger of the Lord" he concludes that this prophet denied the existence of angels.

Certainly the writer's attainments deserve recognition. The work, however, calls to mind Horace's question—

Amphora coepit
Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?

B. 296. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DAS HAUPTHEILIGTUM DES MARDUK IN BABYLON, ESAGILA UND ETEMENANKI. By F. WETZEL and F. H. WEISSBACH. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 59. 13 × 10, pp. vii + 84, pls. 24. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1938.

The work of excavation described in this volume was subject to extraordinary difficulties—great accumulation of overlying

earth, and hindrances caused by the water-level of the neighbouring Euphrates. No less were the obstacles to the preparation of the volume itself, owing to the blindness, partial at first but finally complete, which afflicted one of the authors, Dr. Wetzel, who had himself conducted part of the works described. His courage in persisting till the completion of his task deserves the highest admiration.

In the sixth century B.C., when Babylon had attained its greatest splendour under its most enthusiastic builder, Nebuchadrezzar II, the two structures here described were its principal glory. A combination of destructive influences, terrestrial, climatic, and human, has concealed the ruins of the temple under almost irremovable masses of sand, and reduced the once gigantic staged tower almost to invisibility. In these circumstances the excavation, which took place in 1900, 1910, and 1913, was bound to be something less than satisfactory. Of the deep-buried remnants of E-sagila only a small fraction was uncovered, and a part of the remainder examined in outline by means of tunnelling—a doubtless unavoidable but very inadequate method, used for the same reasons, long before the excavations at Babylon, by the pioneer discoverers of ancient Assyria. Even so a great part of the main temple and of its annexe on the eastern side could not be touched at all. In the case of E-temen-anki, the "Tower of Babel", almost the exact opposite condition was encountered, for hardly anything but foundations remained of the immense "pyramid", its ascending stairways, the extensive *temenos* which surrounded it, and the subsidiary buildings. Tafel 2 gives an excellent summary in plan of what was discovered, and may justly be said to make up by its revelation of so noble a splendour in design what the picture must inevitably lack in detail. It is hardly necessary to add that Dr. Wetzel and his collaborators have set out with care and exactness all the architectural evidence that the cramping hindrances to their work allowed them to collect.

The second and somewhat longer part of the book, con-

tributed by Professor F. H. Weissbach, is a study of all the available evidence preserved in the cuneiform writing which refers or relates to these two great sanctuaries, i.e. the building inscriptions of the late Assyrian and New Babylonian kings, which, in general, are rather disappointingly bare of exact information, but especially the celebrated (or possibly one should call it "notorious") description of the two structures, copied by a scribe at Erech towards the end of the third century B.C., and now known as the "Esagila Tablet". Like certain other productions of the later scribes this text appears to be more concerned with displaying the perverse ingenuity and obscure knowledge of the author than with a clear statement of the matter in hand, and so great are the resultant difficulties that one can but hope with Professor Weissbach that the "intensive Arbeit von einer Mehrzahl Gelehrter" has attained even the limited degree of clarity which he claims. There is, in any case, none who has contributed more to its explanation then himself, both in former works and in the full-length translation and commentary given here, which will be studied with the utmost interest and advantage by all who are in any way concerned either with the cuneiform texts or with the subjects described. In his discussion of the foregoing inscriptions, and in the use which he makes of certain other literary allusions, Professor Weissbach is ultimately attempting to find out how far the actual remains, as discovered by excavation, can be identified or harmonized with the written evidence, and to these questions he devotes several pages of acute discussion. Much necessarily remains doubtful, if only because the excavation itself has had to remain so incomplete, but the success of his investigations, and the degree of probability obtained, are perhaps more than might have been expected.

B. 311. C. J. GADD.

Les Représentations de l'Arbre Sacré sur les Monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam. Extract from *Babyloniaca* XVII. By Nell Perrot. 10 × 6½, pp. 143, pls. 32. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1937. 60 frs.

Much has been written about the "Sacred Trees" of oriental art and cult. Here is a convenient summary of typical examples from Elam, Sumer-Akkad, Syria, and the Minoan world, and Assyria of the centuries before the sixth. The rough outlines of 140 examples are sufficient reminder of the formal publications listed on pp. 138–141. A short introduction analyses the meanings and uses of these "sacred trees"; originally the abode or pleasance of a deity, they become differentiated into the "tree of life" and the "tree of truth" (cf. the "tree of knowledge of good and evil" in *Genesis*): both stand in early Eridu at the "gate of heaven"; the first guarded by Dumuzi (Tammuz), the second by Gudea's own god, Ningizzida, himself a tree-god originally. Both are associated with a serpent or serpent-caduceus. In the Gilgamesh legend there is a whole grove of trees, where Ishtar dwells, as well as a "tree of the gods" which vivifies and rejuvenates. The discovery of early documents carries back now the interpretation of the symbols far beyond most of the extant representations of them. It is not the tree or plant that is worshipped, but the indwelling power, and the symbol of this passes over into decorative art without necessarily losing its protective and vitalizing virtue. The wide distribution of these notions is illustrated by Minoan examples, but the mode of transmission to Aegean peoples is left undefined. The actual association of the highly conventionalized tree-symbol with animal or human "supporters" seems to originate within the second millennium in North Syria and the "future Assyria".

B. 85. JOHN L. MYRES.

Miscellaneous

BIBLIOGRAPHIE MAROCAINE, 1923–1933. Ed. PIERRE DE CENIVAL, CHRISTIAN FUNCK-BRENTANO et MARCEL BOUSSER. 11 × 7½, pp. 606. Paris: Librairie Larose.

This thick volume assembles the offprints treating of Moroccan bibliography which were regularly published by the three authors in the review *Hesperis* from 1923 till 1933. The bibliography contains all the books and articles published in European languages which relate to Morocco. The material is arranged according to years, and is subdivided according to the several branches of science, within which the material is catalogued according to the alphabetical order of the authors' family names. The total number of the works recorded is 1932.

This bibliography is a valuable reference-book for anybody interested in Moroccan affairs. Its only deficiency is that the supplementary material is enumerated in separate sections as was the case in the *Hesperis*, instead of being amalgamated with the old stock of the bibliography. An index of the authors' names would also facilitate the use of the book.

B. 30. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY. 10 × 7¾. Vol. XI, Nos. 2–4, pp. 51–200. Vol. XII, Nos. 1–4, pp. 154. London: Published by the Trustees, 1937–8.

This useful quarterly gives some account of the principal acquisitions, in language not too technical for the layman, but sufficiently precise to inform the expert. It also includes notices of the various temporary exhibitions, the results of excavations, publications by the Trustees, *libri desiderati*, and Museum appointments. When it is stated that the complete vol. xi contains 109 items illustrated by fifty-three plates, and vol. xii, sixty-nine items with fifty-three plates, the difficulty of giving any adequate review of the quarterly

will be obvious. It may, however, be mentioned that vol. xi includes a collection of bronzes from the Eumorfopoulos collection (No. 66), some early sculptures from 'Irāq (No. 72), and a Chinese record of the reign of Tao Kuang (1834–1849), of considerable historical value for the relations between Britain and Great China (No. 106). Among the more miscellaneous acquisitions are the correspondence of John Bright and letters between Father Tyrrell and Baron von Hügel. In vol. xii are included some rare Hebrew books (No. 18), one of them a unique copy of the Hebrew version of Adolph Grull's *Testis et Doctor*, a Fātimid drawing from Cairo, a representation of a fight, "a crucial document for the study of medieval Islamic painting, in the pre-Mongol period" (No. 50), some Carthaginian coins (No. 65), including the Punic inscription Ziz (? Panormus), the interpretation of which gave the late Dr. Lloyd no little trouble, and some Japanese prints from the Tuke collection (No. 96). Special attention may be drawn to the hope expressed by the Trustees that it would be helpful if intending subscribers would do so for five-year periods at a cost, post free, of £2 10*s*.

H 258, B. 259 S. A. COOK.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes:

THE STUDENT'S PRACTICAL DICTIONARY CONTAINING HINDI WORDS WITH HINDI AND ENGLISH MEANINGS. Ed. RAM NARAIN LAL. Allahabad, 1939.

STUDIES ON THE ICE AGE IN INDIA AND ASSOCIATED HUMAN CULTURES. By H. DE TERRA and T. T. PATERSON. Washington, D.C., Carnegie Institution, 1939.

FAMOUS CITIES OF IRAN. By L. LOCKHART. Brentford: Walter Pearce, 1939.

YOGIC ASANAS FOR HEALTH AND VIGOUR. By V. G. RELE. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala, 1939.

EARLY BUDDHIST JURISPRUDENCE. By D. N. BHAGRAT.

Studies in Indian History of the Indian Research Institute, No. 13. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1939.

VIELLES BALLADES DU BENGALE. Feuilles de l'Inde, No. 6. Ed. by M. ROLLAND. Paris: Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1939.

THE HITTITES. A List of References in the New York Public Library. By B. SCHWARTZ. New York: Public Library, 1939.

STORIA DEI MUSULMANI DI SICILIA. Vol. 3, Part 2. By MICHELE AMARI. Catania: Romeo Prampolini, 1939.

MINARET AND PIPE-LINE. Yesterday and To-day in the Near East. By M. BOVERI. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.

LAST LECTURES BY ROGER FRY. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939.

LE CADUCÉE ET LA SYMBOLIQUE DRAVIDIENNE INDO-MÉDITERRANÉENNE, DE L'ARBRE, DE LA PIERRE, DU SERPENT ET DE LA DÉESSE-MÈRE. By J. BOULNOIS. Paris: Librarie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1939.

TARIKH-I-SHAHI OF AHMAD YADGAR. By M. H. HOSAIN. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939.

THE MADRAS TERCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME. For the Madras Tercentenary Celebration Committee. London: Humphrey Milford: 4th August, 1939. £1.

THE MAKING OF EGYPT. By FLINDERS PETRIE. London: The Sheldon Press, 1939. 12*s*. 6*d*.

BAHA AL-DIN MUHAMMAD IBN MU'AIYAD AL-JAWASSUL ILA AL-TARASSUL. Models of State Diplomas and Private Correspondence. Ed. AHMAD BAHMANYAR. Teheran: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique de l'Iran, 1937.

HAVY BEN YAQDHAN. Roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofail. By Léon Gauthier. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1936.

THE TABAQAT AL-SHU'ARA' AL-MUHDATHIN OF IBN AL-MU'TAZZ. By A. EGHBAL. Gibb Memorial, XIII. London: Cambridge University Press.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series of publications under the Royal Asiatic Society

By the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of original literary contributions on Buddhism, Jainism, or the History or Geography of Ancient India up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

The period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors closes on 31st December, 1940. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed but they may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

Tenth All-India Oriental Conference

Due to the sudden outbreak of war, His Exalted Highness' Government has decided, with great reluctance, to postpone till the cessation of hostilities, the Hyderabad Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, convened for December, 1939.

Notices

Publication of the *JRAS*.

Owing to the necessity for reducing expenses during the present state of war, the Council has directed that, until further notice, the *Journal* will be published in three, instead of four, issues per annum. The dates of publication will be 15th January, 15th May, and 15th October.

With reference to the notice published on p. 166 of the January number of 1938, it has been further decided by the Council that the publication of the Scheme for Transliteration of certain Oriental Languages shall be postponed till further notice.

'RESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

October–December, 1939.

Andersson (J. G.), Topographical and archæological studies in the Far East . . . [Publ. as Bulletin, no. 11. of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm). 11 × 8. *Stockholm*, 1939. *Exchange.*

Arberry (A. J.), Specimens of Arabic and Persian palæography, selected and annotated by A. J. A. . . . (India Office Library). 10 × 6½. *London*, 1939. *From the Secretary of State for India.*

Batavia. *K. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.* Jaarboek 6. 1939. [Containing catalogue of Accessions to Museum.] 9½ × 6½. *Bandoeng*, (1939). *From the K. Batav. Genootschap.*

Bhavasaṅkrānti Sūtra and Nāgārjuna's Bhavasaṅkrānti Śāstra. With the commentary of Maitreyanātha. Restored from the Tibetan and Chinese versions and ed. with the Tibetan versions and introduction . . . by . . . N. Aiyaswami Sastri . . . (Adyar Library Publication). 8½ × 6. [*Madras*], 1938. *From the Adyar Library.*

Birūnī: Kitāb al jamāhir fī ma'rifat al-jawāhir . . . [A work on mineralogy.] 10 × 6½. *Hyderabad* (*Deccan*), 1937. *From the Or. Publication Bureau, Hyderabad.*

Blom (J.), The antiquities of Singasari. Acad. proefschrift . . . Leiden . . . 11 × 8. *Leiden*, 1939. *From Messrs. Burgersdijk and Niermans.*

British Museum. Second supplementary catalogue of Bengali books in the Library of the British Museum acquired . . . 1911–1934. Compiled by the late J. F. Blumhardt . . . and J. V. S. Wilkinson . . . 11½ × 9. *London*, 1939. *From the Trustees of the British Museum.*

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Calcutta, Bengal Library. Catalogue of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal during the quarters ending 30th Sept. and 31st Dec., 1938. 13½ × 8½. *Calcutta*, 1939. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Calcutta, Indian Museum. A supplement to vol. 2 of the catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (The Sulṭāns of Delhi and their contemporaries.) By Shamsuddin Ahmad . . . (Arch. Survey of India). 10 × 6½. *Delhi*, 1939.
From the Government of India.

Carmelites. A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the 17th and 18th centuries. 2 vols. 10 × 8. *London*, 1939. *From Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode.*

Ceylon. Annual report on the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1938. 9 × 6. *Colombo*, 1939.
From the Government of Ceylon.

Chin P'ing Mei. The adventurous history of Hsi Men and his six wives. [Tr. by B. Miall from the abridged German version of F. Kuhn.] With introduction by A. Waley. 9 × 6½. *London*, (1939). *From Messrs. John Lane.*

Copenhagen, National Museum: Cuneiform texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, chiefly of economical contents. [Ed. and tr.] by Th. Jacobsen. 10¼ × 8. *Leiden*, 1939.
From Messrs. E. J. Brill.

Creel (H. G.), Literary Chinese by the inductive method. Vol. 2. Selections from the Lun Yü. Prepared by H. G. C. . . . Chang Tsung-ch'ien, and R. C. Rudolph. 10 × 7. *Chicago*, 1939. *From the Cambridge University Press.*

Elwin (V.): The Baiga . . . 1st ed. 9 × 6½. *London*, 1939.
From Messrs. John Murray.

English Records of Maratha History. Poona Residency Correspondence. Vol. 6. Poona affairs 1797–1801 (Palmer's Embassy). Ed by G. S. Sandesai . . . 10 × 6½. *Bombay*, 1939. *From the High Commissioner for India.*

Frazer (Sir J. G.), Anthologia anthropologica. The native races of Africa and Madagascar. The native races of America. The native races of Asia and India. A . . . selection of passages . . . from the MS. notebooks of Sir J. G. F. . . . ed. from the MSS. by R. A. Downie. 3 vols. 11½ × 9. *London*, 1938, 39.
From Messrs. Percy Lund Humphries and Co.

Gonda (J.). Remarks on similes in Sanskrit literature. *Wageningen*, 1939. *From Messrs. H. Veenman and Sons.*

Gravius (D.), Gravius's Formulary of Christianity in the Siraya language of Formosa. Facsimile ed. of the original of 1662. Ed. by E. Asai . . . (Memoirs of the Faculty of Literature, Taihoku Imperial University, vol. 4, no. 1.) 10½ × 8. *Taihoku*, 1939. *From the University of Taihoku.*

Grenard (F.), Grandeur et décadence de l'Asie. L'avènement de l'Europe . . . (Collection Armand Colin, no. 227.) 7 × 4½. *Paris*, 1939. *From Messrs. Armand Colin.*

Hyderabad, Deccan. Daftar dīwānī o māl o mulkī sarkar i 'ālī. [Photographic plates reproducing specimens of old official documents of historical interest.] *Persian and Hindustani.* 10 × 7. *Hyderabad,* 1939.
From H.H. the Nizam's Government.

Ibn al-Jūzī. Kitāb ṣifat al-ṣafwat . . . 3 vols. *Arabic. Hyderabad,* A.H. 1355–6 (A.D. 1937–38).
From the Or. Publications Bureau, Hyderabad.

Ibn al-Quff (Abū al-Faraj ibn Ya'qūb). Kitāb al-'Umda fī 'l jirāha . . . [A work on medicine.] 2 vols. *Hyderabad (Deccan),* A.H. 1356 (A.D. 1937). *From H.H. the Nizam's Govt.*

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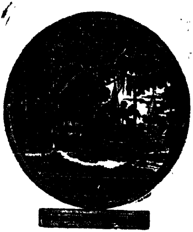
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Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH
Late President of the Royal Asiatic Society,
and Member from 1889 to 1940.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
1940
PART II.—APRIL

Catalogue of the Tod Collection of Indian Manuscripts in the Possession of the Royal Asiatic Society

BY L. D. BARNETT

DURING his eventful career in India, lasting from 1799 to 1823, Colonel James Tod collected a large number of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi, and Gujarati. Of these the most valuable were the many historical writings—regular narratives in both prose and verse, panegyrical compositions, pedigrees, and other miscellanea—from which he derived most of the information embodied in his great work, the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan.* Most of them are in Hindi; a very few are in Sanskrit. Another group, which is not much less important, consists of metrical tales in old Hindi and Gujarati dialects, chiefly illustrative of Jain doctrine, together with some prose stories. There are also other Jain writings, viz. a few scriptures in Prakrit, commentaries upon them in Sanskrit and vernaculars, hagiological poems in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and vernaculars, and various doctrinal works. Finally there are many works representing various phases of Indian culture, e.g. Sanskrit classics and books on grammar, lexicography, astronomy, and astrology, vernacular writings on divination and farriery, etc. These manuscripts passed into the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society as a legacy from Colonel Tod, who for several years acted as the Society's librarian, and form the basis of the collection described in the following Catalogue.

The term "Tod Collection of Manuscripts", however, is

something of a misnomer, for not all the works recorded in it came from Colonel Tod, and not all of them are manuscripts. There are in it some lithographs (nos. 99 and 152*), presented by Mr. W. H. Wathen; and many manuscripts from other sources have been incorporated into it. Major Caulfeild presented no. 120; Colonel Sir Claude Martine Wade (1794–1861) was the donor of no. 121; nos. 124 and 128 are from Major-General John Briggs, the translator of the Chronicle of Firishtah and the Siyar ul-Muta'akhkhirīn (1785–1875); nos. 150 and 151 formerly belonged to Dr. John Muir (1810–1882); the fine volume no. 152 was a gift of Lieutenant Brooke, afterwards Sir James Brooke, Raja of Sarawak (1803–1868); nos. 153–162 are from the collection of Sir Henry Miers Elliot (1808–1853); the fine manuscript no. 164 was presented by the widow of Mr. Charles W. Williams Wynn, the Marathi volume no. 169 by that eminent administrator Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere (1815–1884). The remainder, with one or two possible exceptions, are from Colonel Tod's library.

An index has been appended; the numerals attached to the entries in it refer to the numbers of the manuscripts as registered in the body of the Catalogue.

MS. no. 1.—Āditya-purāṇa, or Saura-purāṇa. The same recension (65 adhyāyas) as that noticed by Rajendralal Mitra in his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in Bikaner, p. 182. A fuller recension in 69 adhyāyas was published in the Ānandāśrama Series, 1889; an abridged German translation, *Das Saurapurāṇam*, by W. Jahn, Leipzig, 1908. 108 fols. Copied in Benares by Vāsudeva Miśra; finished V. Samvat 1665, Kārttika badi 13, Thursday. Paper. 13¾" high × 6½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 2.—Bhaviṣyat-purāṇa, the Saptamī-kalpa only (treating of the rituals and legends of the worship of the Sun). 387 fols. Copying finished V. Samvat 1720, Caitra śu. 3, Sunday. Paper. 11¼" high × 6" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 3.—Garuḍa-purāṇa, the Ācāra-kāṇḍa only. Cf. the

edition of Khemrāj Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Śaka 1963. 321 fols. Mainly seventeenth century. Paper. 13″ high × 6½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 4.—HARI-VAMŚA, the legends of Kṛṣṇa forming a sequel to the Mahābhārata. 491 fols. Copied in Udaipur; finished V. Samvat 1879, Jyeṣṭha śu. 6, Sunday. Paper. 13¼″ high × 6¼″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 5.—AŚVA-MEDHA-PARVA, an epic poem in 68 cantos, partly coinciding in subject with the section of the same name in the Mahābhārata, and reputed to form part of a Jaimini-bhārata by the legendary sage Jaimini. 271 fols. Copied by Haridāsa at Grāmadāru; finished V. Samvat 1732, Bhādra śu. 5, Sunday. Paper. 12″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 6.—PADMA-PURĀṆA, the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa only. 345 fols. Copied by "Bhaṭa-Jāvāharajī-suta", i.e. a son of Bhaṭa Jawāhirjī; finished V. Samvat 1726 = Śaka 1591, Bhādra-pada śu. 11, Friday. Paper. 11½″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 7.—A volume containing the following two works: (1) VIŚVAKARMĀVATĀRA or (JÑĀNA-PRAKĀŚITA-)DĪPĀRṆAVA, a manual of rules for building and architecture and for divination connected therewith, etc., in 32 adhyāyas. 92 fols. Copied in Udaipur in the reign of Maharana Bhīm Singh; finished V. Samvat 1878 = Āṣāḍhādi Samvat 1879 = Śaka 1744, Jyeṣṭha śu. 9, Saumyavāsare.

(2) KUṆḌA-MAṆḌALA, on sacrificial trenches, composed in V. Samvat 1506 by Rāmacandra, a Bhāradvāja Brahman patronized by the Raja of Ratanpur; also called KUṆḌĀKṚTI and KUṆḌA-LAKṢAṆA. Published in abridged form, under the name [Kuṇḍa-]Rāmavājapeya, by Harikṛṣṇa Veṅkaṭarāma Jośī in his Kuṇḍa-grantha-viṃśati (2nd edition, Bombay, 1889). 37 fols. Copied circa A.D. 1820.

Paper. 10½″ high × 7″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 8.—GRAHA-LĀGHAVA, astrology, by Gaṇeśa Daivajña. Concludes on fol. 41 with the usual verses about the author and his work. On fol. 42*ab* is an appendix of astrological notes on portents. 42 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 8¾″ high × 5¼″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 9.—ḤAKĪKAT, a chronicle of the Maharajas of Jaipur down to the reign of Jagat Singh (access. Samvat 1850). 52 + 17 fols. About 1800 A.D. Paper. 9¼" high × 6½" wide. *Hindi (Jaipuri).*

MS. no. 10.—UPADEŚA-MĀLĀ, or UVAESA-MĀLĀ, Jain religious and moral verses in Prakrit by Dharmadāsa. With Jayaśekhara's Sanskrit gloss (avacūri) incorporated into the text. 43 fols. Copied by Jaicand for Guṇalakṣmī Gaṇi. Eighteenth century. Paper. 13½" high × 7½" wide. ***Prakrit & Sanskrit.***

MS. no. 11.—NṚSIṂHA-PURĀṆA, a version in 70 adhyāyas. 100 fols. Copied by Bhaṭṭa Kṛṣṇadāsa, by order of Maharana Saṅgrāmasiṃha, under instructions of Bhaṭṭa Rāma: finished V. Samvat 1787, Āśvina badi 9. Col.: Mahārājādhirāja-mahārāṇnā-śrī-Saṃgrāmasiṃhajī-liṣāpitaṃ || Bhaṭṭa-rāmma-syājñayā likhitaṃ || Saṃvat 1787 varṣe Āśvana-kṛṣṇa-9 nava-myāṃ devavāsare likhitaṃ || Bhaṭṭa-Kṛṣṇadāsenālekhi, etc. Paper. 12½" high × 7½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 12.—BRAHMA-PURĀṆA, from the beginning to adhyāya 197, verse 11*a*, of the text as given in the Ānandā-śrama edition (Poona, 1895). 284 fols. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Paper. 16" high × 7½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 13.—UPADEŚA-RASĀLA, an anonymous collection of Jain homilies, tales, and historical notices, compiled from Ratnamandira's Upadeśa-taraṅgiṇī, etc. 60 + 1 fols.; at the end is affixed a slip with some notes in Sanskrit-Hindi. Copied by Puṣkaraṇā Bōḍā Gaṇeśadāsa: finished V. Samvat 1876, Madhu badi 10. Col. (fol. 60*b*): इति श्रीउपदेश-रसालनामा ग्रंथः उपदेशतरंगिणी २४ प्रबंधाद्दिकग्रास्त्रा-ऽवलोक्य उधृतः संपूर्णोयं ग्रंथः लिखितं ब्राह्मणपुसकरणा वोडा गणेशदास संवत् अठार छिहंतरा वद दशम मधुमास । श्रीरस्तु । श्लोकसंख्या २७०० Paper. 11¾" high × 9¼" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 14.—VĀYU-PURĀṆA, the *Prakriyā-pāda*, *Anuṣaṅga-pāda*, *Upodghāta-pāda*, and *Upasaṃhāra-pāda*. **383 fols.** Copied in V. Samvat 1675: **finished "Mā.(Mārgaśira or**

Māgha ?) cha.śu.punī". Paper. 13" high × 6" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 15.—KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYA, the classical poem of Bhāravi, sargas 1–18. 33 fols. Copied in Rajnagar: finished V. Samvat 1696, Āṣāḍha śu. Col.: Śrīmad-Vṛhat-kharatara-gacche śrī-Jinaratnasūrayas tat-paṭṭe śrī-Jinavardhamānasūribhir llekhitā, etc. Paper. 10¾" high × 5½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 16.—SĀRASVATA-SŪTRA, aphorisms of grammar, with Anubhūtisvarūpa's exposition called SARASVATĪ-PRAKRIYĀ. 71 fols. Copied in Udaipur for his own use by order of Celāratna (disciple of Hīraratna, disciple of Dharmaratna, disciple of Dayāratna. disciple of Hemaratna, disciple of Rājaratna, disciple of Padmavardhana, disciple of Nandivardhana), in the reign of Rana Rāj Singh: finished V. Samvat 1710, Āsauj śu. 7, Ravivāra. Paper. 10⅞" high × 5½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 17.—SIDDHA-HEMA-ŚABDĀNUŚĀSANA, Hemacandra's aphorisms of grammar, with his own short commentary (Laghu-vṛtti). Adhyāya V only. 18 fols. Copied in Dungarpur: finished V. Samvat 1531, mahā-vadi 5, on Friday (no month). Paper. 10¾" high × 6" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 18.—VĀSUPŪJYA-CARITA, a mahā-kāvya by Vardhamāna Sūri, of the Nāgendra-gaccha, composed in V. Samvat 1299. Imperfect and in parts damaged, comprising fols. 2–4, 6–35, 37–65, 71–94; on fol. 2*a* is a damaged picture. Col. fol. 14*b*: iti daṃḍādhipati-śrīm[ad-]Āhlādana-samabhyarthita-śrī-Vijayasiṃha-sūri-śiṣya-śrī-Varddhamāna-sūri-viracite śrī-Vāsupūjya-carite Āhlādanāṃke mahā-kāvye sad-guru-labdhi-varṇṇano nāma prathamaḥ sarggaḥ || || graṃthāgraṃ 664 || Fol. 57*b*: . . . tīrthaṃkara-kāraṇa-labdhi-varṇṇano nāma dvitīyasarggaḥ || graṃtha 2282 ubhayam | 2962 || Fol. 79*a*: . . . catut[sic]-kalyāṇaka-varṇṇano labdhi [sic] nāma tṛtīyaḥ sarggaḥ || graṃthāgraṃ 1168 (?) ubhayaṃ 4074 || Sixteenth century. Paper. 12½" high × 6¼" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 19.—SANDEHA-VIṢAUṢADHI, a Sanskrit commentary by Jinaprabha on Bhadrabāhu's Kalpa-sūtra. Nearly

complete, but very dilapidated in parts; extends to the Sāmācārī section. On the flyleaf a note in Tod's writing "Written in 1114". Probably sixteenth century. Paper. 11″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 20.—NIRAYĀVALIYĀ-SŪYA, Upāṅgas 8–12 of the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon. 41 fols. Sixteenth century. Paper. 10¾″ high × 5½″ wide. *Prakrit.*

MS. no. 21.—SYĀDVĀDA-RATNĀKARA, or PRAMĀṆA-NAYA-TATTVĀLOKĀLAṂKĀRA, a manual of Jain logic by Vādi Deva (Deva Sūri), with the short commentary Ratnākarāvatārikā of Ratnaprabha. 71 fols. (5001 granthas). Sixteenth century? Paper. 10¾″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 22.—TĀJIKA-SĀRA, an astrology, by Haribhadra (description in Bendall's Catal. of Skt. MSS. in British Museum, p. 209, § 503). 48 fols. Copied in Udaipur by Akherām son of Miśra Rājārāma for his own use and the use of Bhaṭa Ghāzīrām's son Nāthurām and other students (col. on fol. 47*b*: Saṃvat 1807 kā Sāke 1673 kā Bhādavā vadi 13 Śanau liṣataṃ Udepurammadhye Jñāti-Dasarā-Miśra-Rājārāma-tat-putra-Miśra-Aṣcrāmeṇa sva-kāryārtha-vīdyārthī-paṭhanārthaṃ ‖ Bhaṭa Ghāsīrāmajī-tat-putra-vīdyārthī-Nāthurāma-paṭhanārthaṃ, etc.). Paper. 9¼″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 23.—TĀJIKA, a manual of astrology by Nīlakaṇṭha son of Ananta. Part I, or Saṃjñā-tantra, only. 16 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 10¼″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 24.—GRAHA-SIDDHI, or MAHĀDEVĪ, a manual of calendarial calculation with tables by Mahādeva. 63 fols. Copied in Rohichnagar by Muni Kheta, disciple of Nāthājī, disciple of Ṛṣi Rohitāsajī, disciple of Ṛṣi Bhojarāja: finished Samvat 1776 (indu-śaila-muni-ṣaṭ), Āsoj. śu. 11, Friday. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 25.—SKANDA-PURĀṆA, the Nāgara-khaṇḍa, from adhyāya I, verse 1 (Liṅgotpatti-varṇana) to adh. cxxx, verse 21 (Pañcapiṇḍā-Gaury-utpatti-varṇana) according to the Bombay edition of 1909. 235 fols. Sixteenth or seventeenth century. Paper. 12¼″ high × 6¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 26.—SKANDA-PURĀṆA, the Prabhāsa-kṣetra-māhātmya and Vastrāpatha-kṣetra-māhātmya, forming respectively parts 1 and 2 of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa. Fols. 1–32, 55–408. Col.: iti śrī-Skanda-purāṇe caturāśīsāhasre (sic) Rudra-prokta-Prabhāsa-yātrāyāṃ Prabhāsa-khaṃḍaṃ saṃpūrṇnaṃ samāptaṃ (thus ignoring the Arbuda-khaṇḍa and Dvārakā-māhātmya, which are printed as parts 3–4 of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa). Sixteenth or seventeenth century. Paper. 12¼″ high × 6¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 27.—HĪRA-SAUBHĀGYA, a poem by Devavimala Gaṇi on the career of the Śvetāmbara Jain pontiff Hīravijaya (Samvat 1583–1652), sargas 1–5. With commentary by the author. Fols. 1–15, 17–80, 82–92. Seventeenth century? Paper. 10¾″ high × 5½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 28.—PRAJÑĀPANĀ-ṬĪKĀ, Malayagiri's Sanskrit commentary on the Prajñāpanā or Pannavaṇā, the 4th Upāṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain Canon. 211 fols. Col.: Śrī-Kharatara-Vegaḍa-gacche śrī-Jineśvara-sūri-saṃtāne | śrī-Jinaseṣara-sūrayaḥ tat-paṭṭe śrī-Jinadharmma-sūrayaḥ tad-anvayodyota-kara-śrī-Jinacaṃdra-sūrayaḥ tat-paṭṭālaṃkāra-bhūta-śrī-Jinameru-sūrayaḥ teṣāṃ paṭṭe śrī-Jinaguṇaprabha-sūrīśvara-vijaya-rājye || saṃvat 1613 varṣe Kārttika-sita-dvādaśī-tithau Budha-vāsare śrīmaj-Jesalameru-mahā-durgge śrī-Pārśva-nātha-tīrthālaṃkṛte śrī-Jinaguṇaprabha-sūrīṇāṃ | Gaṃgā-jala-vimala-yaśo-bhara-bhūṣitānāṃ caraṇāṃbuja-marāla-bālena p° Bhaktimaṃdira-vineyena likhitā prattir (sic) iyaṃ śrī-Prajñāpanopāṃgasya mahatodyamena . . . śodhitā ca sodyamaiḥ śrī-Jinaguṇaprabha-sūribhiḥ, etc. Copied in Jesalmer by a disciple of Bhaktimandira, under the pontificate of Jinaguṇaprabha, and revised by the latter: finished in V. Samvat 1613, Kārttika śu. 12, Wednesday. Paper. 12¾″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 29.—TATTVA-CINTĀMAṆI of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, the Pratyakṣa-khaṇḍa, pariccheda 1, only. Fols. 1–44, 46–47. Sixteenth century? Paper. 10¾″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 30.—SANDEHA-VIṢAUṢADHI of Jinaprabha: see

above, no. 19. 97 fols. Sixteenth or seventeenth century. Paper. 11¼" high × 4¾" wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 31.—KUMĀRAPĀLA-RĀJARṢI-RĀS, or KUMĀRAPĀLA-RĀS, a Jain poem on the exploits of the Caulukya king Kumārapāla of Anahillapaṭṭana, composed in V. Samvat 1670 by Ṛṣabhadāsa son of Sāṅgaṇa. 186 fols. Copied in V. Samvat 1746, Māgha śu. 5. Col.: संवत १७४६ वर्षे माह सुदि ५ दिने लिषतं पंडित श्रीसत्यविजयगणिशिष्य पंडितश्री-कपूरविजयगणिशिष्य पंडित श्रीमेघविजय ग पं भीमविजयशिष्य गणि सुखविजय पं सोभागविजे भाई अमृतविजे मोचमणी प्रभु[ति] ए रास साधीने सो.योब.वाचनार्थं. Paper. 10" high × 5¼" wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 32.—ŚĀRṄGADHARA-PADDHATI, the Paddhati or poetical anthology of Śārṅgadhara son of Dāmodara. 296 fols. Seventeenth century. Paper. 11¾" high × 6½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 33.—VṚDDHA-ŚATRUṂJAYA-MĀHĀTMYA, a Sanskrit poem on the cult of the Jain sanctuary of Śatruṃjaya, by Dhaneśvara. With interlinear Gujarati translation. Copied V. Samvat 1787: finished Kārttika ba. 9, Sauma (or Bhauma?) Col., fol. 46*b*: ity ācārya-śrī-Dhaneśvara-sūri-viricite (sic) Mahā-tīrtha-śatruṃjaya-māhātmye Girikaṃḍu-muni-bhagavan-samavasaraṇa-deśanodyāna nāma prathamaḥ svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 102*a*: °Mahīpāla-caritre-varṇano nāma dvitīyaḥ sarggaḥ; fol. 174*b*: °śrī-Ṛṣabha-svāmi-janma-rājyābhiṣeka-dīkṣā-kevalotpati-Bharata-dig-vijaya-varṇanoṃ (sic) nāma tṛtīyaḥ svargaḥ (sic); fol. 236*b*: Bharata-Bāhabali-saṃgrāma-varṇano nāma caturthaḥ svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 326*a*: °śrī-Bharata-tīrtha-yātrā-tīrthoddhāra-varṇano nāma paṃcama svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 351*b*: °śrī-Ṛṣabha-svāmī-śrī-Bharateśa-nirvāṇāṣṭāpadauddhāra-śrī-Suryayaśaś-carita-varṇano nāma ṣaṣṭamaḥ svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 386*b*: °Drāviḍa-Vālaṣilla-caritra-tīrthoddhāra-varṇano nāṃmaḥ saptamo svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 451*b*: °śrī-Ajita-svāṃmiḥ-śrī-Śāṃti-jina-cakrī-dharādi-mahā-puruṣa-tīrthoddhāra-varṇano nāmāṣṭamaḥ svarggaḥ saṃpūrṇṇaḥ (sic); fol. 503*b*: °śrī-Rāṃma-

prabhṛti-mahā-puruṣa-carita-varṇano nāṃma navamaḥ svarggaḥ śrī-Śatruṃjaya-māhātmye prathama saṃḍam itiḥ; fol. 592*b*: °śrī-Śatruṃjaya-māhātmyotarbhūta-śrī-Raivatācala-māhātmye Bhīmasena-Harivaṃśa cotpatti Kṛṣṇa-Nemīśa-janma-varṇano nāṃma daśamaḥ svarggaḥ saṃpūrṇṇaḥ (sic); fol. 631*b*: °śrī-Śatruṃjaya-māhātmyāṃtarbhūta-Raivatācala-mahātmye Pāṃḍava-dyūta-krīḍā-vana-vāsādi-varṇano nāma ekādaśamaḥ ṣvarggaḥ saṃpūrṇṇaḥ (sic); fol. 690*a*: °śrī-Raivatācala-māhātmye Pāṃḍavādi-saṃgrāma-varṇano nāma dvādaśamaḥ sarggaḥ: fol. 760*b*: °śrī-Nemi-dīkṣā . . . trayodaśama svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 770*a*: °śrī-Pārśvanātha-kathā-varṇano nāṃma paṃcama svarggaḥ (sic); fol. 794*a*: °śrī-Śatruṃjaya-mahā-tīrtha-māhātmye śrī-Pārśvanāthādi-mahā-puruṣa-saccarita-varṇano nāṃma caturdaśama svarggaḥ (sic); śrī-Raivatakācala-māhātmye śreṣṭi-śrī-Jāvaḍādi-vihitaṃ-śrī-Śatruṃjayoddhāra-varṇano nāma svargga ṣaṣṭa saṃpūrṇṇa (sic). At the end is a note stating that the ms. is a copy belonging to Sundaraśīla, disciple of Lāvaṇyaśīla Gaṇi, and is correct (Paṃḍitaḥ śrī 5 śrī-Lāvaṇyaśīla-gaṇi tat-śiṣya Suṃdaraśīla-nī parat chaiṃḥ sahī che). 794 fols.; fols. 713–end are much damaged by the opposite pages sticking together. Paper. 11″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit & Gujarati.*

MS. no. 34.—Kālikācārya-kathānaka, the life of the legendary Kālika, in Jain Prakrit, by Bhāvadeva. With marginal Sanskrit gloss. At the end (fol. 112*b*) is the first page of a Sanskrit poem in praise of the Lōḍha family, beginning with Gola and his son Bhavya (?). Fols. 16–112 (beginning and end missing); fine large script; coloured illustrations on fols. 16*b*, 17*a*, 25*b*, 41*b*, 42*a*, 48*b*, 52*b*, 101*b*, and 102*a*. Copied V. Samvat 1461; finished Caitra śu. 15. Paper. 13¼″ high × 5¼″ wide. *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 35.—Saṅgrahaṇī-sūtra, or Saṃghayaṇī, also styled Saṅgrahaṇī-ratna and Trailokya-dīpaka, a Jain Prakrit cosmography by Candra Sūri, disciple of Maladhāri Hemacandra. With Gujarati translation by Vaccarāja (Vavva-

rāja ?): fol. 1*b*, line 1, lelikhyate ṭaṃbārtho 'yaṃ Vaccarājena sādhunā. 40 fols. Copied in Jalor by Gautamasāgara Gaṇi, disciple of Kāntisāgara, disciple of Uttamasāgara, disciple of Kuśalasāgara: finished V. Samvat 1750 (?), Vaiśākha śu. 8, Saptārci-vāra. After this colophon follow, in thick red letters, the words Paṃḍita śrī 5 śrī-Kesarasāgara-gaṇināṃ prasattitaḥ || śrī-Goḍī-Pārśvanāthāya namaḥ || Paper. 10¼" high × 5¼" wide. *Prakrit & Gujarati.*

MS. no. 36.—A volume containing the following:—

(1) Astronomical tables of positions of planets. 12 fols.

(2) Calendarial tables for Śaka 1505, with introduction. Begin.: Natvā Gaṇeśaṃ gagane-carāṇāṃ gaṇaṃ pṛthag-bhakti-samānato 'haṃ kurve *Camatkāra-kasāra*-rūpāṃ sāraṃ grahītvā (sic) khalu *Śīghra-siddhem* (sic) || 28 fols.

(3) Planetary tables. 17 fols.

(4) GRAHA-LĀGHAVA-SĀRAṆĪ, planetary tables from Gaṇeśa's Graha-lāghava. Begin.: Śrī-Jayavija[ya]-gaṇi-caraṇa-kamalebhyo namaḥ. Written for Gaṇi Rūpavijaya. 14 fols. Eighteenth century.

(5) JAGAD-BHŪṢAṆA, planetary tables for Śaka 1690–1708, perhaps the work of Samarasiṃha mentioned by Bühler in his Catal. of Skt. MSS. in Private Libraries in Gujarat, etc., IV. 130. Written for their own use by Naravijaya and Gajendravijaya: finished V. Samvat 1820, Vaiśākha śu. 8, Guru-vāsara, Puṣya-nakṣatra. 87 fols.

(6) KĀMA-DHENU-KOṢṬAKĀḤ, rules and tables for calendarial calculation from Rāmacandra's Tithi-cūḍāmaṇi-kāma-dhenu (MSS. in Bikaner, p. 345). Begin.: Praṇamya Puṣpa-daṃtākhyau Sāradāṃ Gaṇa-nāyakaṃ tithi-siddhiṃ Kāma-dughāṃ karomy alpām atisphuṭām. 24 fols. Seventeenth century.

(7) Planetary tables. 76 fols. Eighteenth century.

Sixteenth–eighteenth centuries. Paper. 10½" high × 5¾" wide. *Sanskrit & Gujarati.*

MS. no. 37.—PAÑCALIṄGĪ-VIVARAṆA, a Sanskrit commentary by Jinapati upon Jineśvara's Pañcaliṅgī, a Jain

Prakrit tract upon the five liṅgas of samyaktva (scil. upaśama, saṃvega, nirveda, anukampā, astitva). Edited and published at Surat by Muni Kṛpācandra (printed at Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay) in 1919. The beginning is transcribed by Peterson in his Third Report, App. I, p. 250. On fol. 261*b*, line 5, begins a praśasti of the succession Jineśvara—Jinacandra I and Abhayadeva—Jinavallabha—Jinadatta—Jinacandra II, in 13 verses. On fol. 262*b*, line 3 ff. : Iti Jinapati-sūris tad-vineyo vidheyo vyadhita vivṛtim etāṃ Paṃcaliṃgyāḥ suvodhāṃ | yad iha kim api vaddhaṃ vuddhimaukhyād (scil. buddhi-maurkhyād) aśuddhaṃ tad upakṛti-dhurīṇāḥ śodhayaṃtu śrutajñāḥ || 14 Iti Jinapati-sūri-viracitaṃ Paṃcaliṃgyā vivaraṇaṃ samāptaṃ || || saṃvat 1308 Āso aśudi 1 Soma || śubhaṃ bhavatu || On fol. 263, line 1, begins a ṭippaṇaka or gloss on the above work, compiled by Jinapāla Upādhyāya ; it ends on fol. 270*b*, line 11, with the words iti Paṃcaliṃgī-vivaraṇa-praśastiṣ ṭippaṇakaṃ || kṛtiḥ śrī-Jinapālopādhyāyānāṃ || 270 fols. (fol. 88 missing). Paper. 10¼″ high × 5″ wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 38.—Raghu-vaṃśa of Kālidāsa, sargas 1–19. Copied in Rajnagar by Bhaṭṭāraka Jinavardhamāna Sūri, disciple of Jinaratna ; finished V. Samvat "kha-kha-hari-hari-candra" (1700 ?), Jyeṣṭha śu. 7. 116 fols. Paper. 10⅞″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 39.—Kūrma-purāṇa, a recension in 50 + 43 adhyāyas (thus showing affinity with the Telugu edition of Madras, 1875, which, however, has 50 + 46). Copied by Pītāmbara at Benares : finished V. Samvat 1655, Āṣāḍha śudi 12, Wednesday. Col. : Saṃvat 1655 samaye Āsāḍha sudi dvādaśī vāra Buddhavāra liṣitaṃ Pitāṃvara vrāhmanena samīpaṃ Viśbanātha (sic). 277 fols. Paper. 11⅞″ high × 6¼″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 40.—Agni-purāṇa, or Āgneya-purāṇa, from the beginning to adhyāya 383, v. 38, of the Ānandāśrama edition. Copied by Govardhana son of Dharaṇīdhara : finished V. Samvat 1700 = Śaka 1565, Pauṣa śu. 8, Saturday. Col. :

svasti śrī saṃvat 1700 varṣe Śāke 1565 pravartta uttarāyanagate 'rkke san-māṃgalya-prade Pauṣa-māse 'site pakṣe aṣṭamyāṃ Śanau tad-dine Ila-durga-sthito dīvyajñānīyapaṃḍā (sic) śrī 5 Dharaṇīdhara-suta-Govarddhanena lakhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ, etc. 506 fols. Paper. 12" high × 6½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 41.—JAMBU-KUMĀRA-RĀS, a Gujarati poem on a Jain legend, by Jñānavimala Sūri (Nayavimala), finished V. Samvat 1737 (chronogram: muni-kṛśānu-jala-nidhi-śaśi), Mārgaśirṣa śu. 13. On the author see Muktivimala Gaṇi's preface to his edn. of the Nara-bhava-dṛṣṭāntopanayamālā, Rajnagar (Ahmedabad), 1916. Copied in Ghrāṇapura by Pandit Phattaikuśal, disciple of Tejkuśal Gaṇi, disciple of Sūryakuśal: finished V. Samvat 1794, Kārttika śu. 11, Sunday. 22 fols. Paper. 10¼" high × 5¼" wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 42.—HAMMĪRA-CARITA, a poem with the *aṅka* (catchword) *vīra*, by Nayacandra, on the exploits of the Cauhān Maharaja Hammīra of Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor); sargas 1–4. A defective ms., with many small gaps in the text due to the illegibility or damaged state of the archetype, and itself wanting parts of fols. 1–21, 90, 98–100. Late eighteenth century. 100 fols. Paper. 6¾" high × 5" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 43. ṢAḌVIDHĀVAŚYAKA-VIDHI, a Sanskrit exposition of the six Āvaśyakas or necessary religious duties of Jains, by an unknown author. The same work as that described in Winternitz-Keith's Catal. of Skt. MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. ii, no. 135, p. 210. With marginal glosses. Copied in Rājapura: finished V. Samvat 1629, Mārgaśirṣa ba amāvāsyā, Śukra. 93 fols. Paper. 10¾" high × 5¾" wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 44.—DRAVYA-KIRAṆĀVALĪ, i.e. the section of Udayana's Kiraṇāvalī treating of substance. With marginal glosses. Eighteenth century; completed from fol. 34*b*, line 11, in a later hand. 36 fols. Paper. 11¼" high × 6" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 45.—A volume of calendarial tables from the Māhādevī (see above, MS. no. 24), viz. (1) tables headed *Sūrya-spaṣṭa-avadhi-muṣe paṃktiḥ* and *Avadhi-muṣe Rāhu-paṃktiḥ*, 1 fol., (2) *Māhādevī-upakarṇa-patra* (sic), 1 fol., (3) *Māhādevī-sāraṇī-koṣṭaka*, fols. 2–76, and (4) *Rāhu-spaṣṭa*. Copied for his own use in Lāhāgrāma by Gaṇi Bhojavijaya, disciple of Sujāṇavijaya, disciple of Rūpavijaya Gaṇi, in V. Samvat 1789 = Śaka 1654. At the end, in a different hand, is the name of Pandit Rūpavijaya. 77 fols. Paper. 10½" high × 5½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 46.—Bhāvādhyāya, a chapter on horoscopy from a Sanskrit work on astrology (Cintāmaṇi ?). With Gujarati translation (ṭabārtha). Copied V. Samvat 1818: finished Pauṣa badi 7, Guru. 43 fols. Paper. 6½" high × 5¾" wide. *Sanskrit & Gujarati.*

MS. no. 47.—An anonymous Jain Prakrit poem, perhaps named Hari-vaṃśa-vaṃśa or something of the sort, giving the Jain version of Mahābhārata legends with other stories down to the tale of Nemi. Fol. 1*b*, line 4: mayā puvvagaṃthāu | paramparāeṇa anubhayaṃ tāvaṃ | Hari-vaṃsa-vaṃsa-jāi va | upattī kiṃci vucchāmi | 5 Punar avi Kuravaṃsāṇaṃ vucchāmi kittīya nāma-mitteṇaṃ | kiṃci vi Paṃḍava-cariyaṃ | bhaṇāmi kallāṇaṃ || 6. 4404 verses; the text breaks off abruptly on fol. 159*a*, being apparently unfinished. 159 fols. Seventeenth century ? Paper. 10½" high × 6" wide. *Prakrit.*

MS. no. 48.—Kathā-mahodadhi, Jain moral and religious tales by Somacandra illustrating Hari's Karpūra-prakara and beginning with the same three verses. Noticed by Peterson, Third Report, p. 18, and ib., App. I, p. 316 ff. 39 fols. Sixteenth or seventeenth century. Paper. 10¾" high × 5¾" wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 49.—Bhaḍalī-vākya, or Bhaḍalī-vāyak, a work on divination on the influence of the months, etc., in 320 verses, mostly Rajasthani, with a few Sanskrit ślokas, adapted by Vardhamāna, a Jain friar, from dicta ascribed to

the legendary wise woman Bhaḍalī; partly agreeing with the text of the Śakuna-vicāra ascribed to "Bhaḍḍara", edited by Rāmaratna Vājapeya (several edns.), the Śakunāvalī, etc. 26 fols. Copied for Sumatisāgara in Umat by Muni Dayācand, disciple of Tejsundar, of Dharmaghoṣa-sūri-gaccha; finished V. Samvat 1801, Śrāvaṇa badi 1. Paper. 9⅝" high × 5⅞" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 50.—SIṄGHĀSAN-BATRĪSĪ-KATHĀ-COPAĪ, a Jain adaptation of the Siṃhāsana-dvātriṃśikā in Gujarati quatrains, composed by Netasī in V. Samvat 1571, Āsoj śudi 10, Sunday (chronogram: candra samudra bhalo Pāṇḍava śaśi). 53 fols. Copied in Ratnapurī by Bhagavān-sāgar, disciple of Khushāl-sāgar Gaṇi: finished V. Samvat 1824, Mṛgaśira di. 10. Paper. 10" high × 5⅜" wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 51.—SVAPNĀDHYĀYA, a tract on oneiromancy (different from the tract several times published anonymously and from the version in Nīlakaṇṭha Mīmāṃsakabhaṭṭa's Ācāra-mayūkha). 5 fols. Copied in Udaipur for his own use by the Jyotiṣī Pītāmbara in the reign of Ari Singh: finished V. Samvat 1824 = Śaka 1689, Śrāvana śu. 6, Saturday (fol. 5a: saṃvat 1824 varṣe Śāke 1689 pravartamāne Śrāvaṇa śulka (sic) tithau ‖ 6 ‖ Śanau liṣitaṃ jotisi Pītāṃbareṇa ātmabācanārthaṃ Udepura-madhye śrī-Arisiṃhajī-rājya-saṃnidhau ‖ śrī ‖). On fol. 5b is a note on candra-darśana. Paper. 10" high × 5½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 52.—KARMA-VIPĀKA, i.e. book I of the Karma-granthas of Devendra, disciple of Jagaccandra, in Prakrit verse. With the author's Sanskrit commentary Subodhā. 18 fols. Copied in Sujāülapura (Jalor) by Vinayasundara Gaṇi: sixteenth or seventeenth century. Paper. 10½" high × 5¼" wide. *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 53.—PRAŚNA-CŪḌĀMAṆI, Sanskrit rules for divination, with Gujarati interpretation. Ending on fol. 21a, after which comes a supplement. 23 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 10⅜" high × 5¼" wide. *Sanskrit & Gujarātī.*

MS. no. 54.—A manual of geomancy ending on fol. 15b

with the colophon iti Ramala-śāstrokta Bhojanadhyāyaḥ (sic). 15 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 10⅜" high × 5¼" wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 55.—Ratnacūḍa-rās, a Jain story in 343 stanzas of Old Gujarati verse (? the poem of Ratnaśekhara mentioned in Jain-rās-mālā, p. 14 ?). 14 fols. Copied in Sāchlīnagar by Kīrticandra Muni: finished V. Samvat 1678, Pauṣa śu. 13, Sunday (fol. 14*a*: saṃvat 1678 varṣe Poṣa-māse śukla-pakṣye 13 dine | Ravi-vāre | Sāchalīnagare || vā° Punākalaśa-gaṇi tat-śiṣya Kīrticaṃdra-muni-laṣitam ||). Paper. 10¼" high × 5⅝" wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 56.—Karaṇa-kutūhala, astronomy, by Bhāskara. Containing the 10 sections Madhyamādhikāra-sādhanā, Spaṣṭādhikā°, Tripraśnādhikā°, Candra-grahaṇādhikā°, Sūrya-grahaṇādhikā°, Udayāstādhikā°, Śṛṅgaunnatyādhikā°, Graha-yutyadhikā°, Krānti-sāmyādhikā°, and Parva-sambhavā-dhikā°, followed by 2 mūla-ślokas. 18 fols. (fols. 13 and 14 are one). Eighteenth century. Paper. 10¼" high × 5⅛" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 57.—Graha-lāghava-sāraṇī, astronomical tables based on Gaṇeśa's Graha-lāghava (see above). 15 fols. Copied for his own use by Pārśvadatta, disciple of Pratāpsī, in Udaipur: finished V. Samvat 1777, Mārgaśīrṣa śu. 10, Monday. Paper. 10⅝" high × 5½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 58.—Ratna-dīpaka, a tract on divination of planetary influences, by Gaṇapati, disciple of Gopāla (see Rajendralal Mitra, Notices of Skt. MSS., II, no. 713). 17 fols.: incomplete at end. Eighteenth century. Paper. 7¼" high × 5½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 59.—Graha-paṅkti, a series of tables for calculating motions of planets. Beginning: Śrī-Varada-mūrttebhyo nmaḥ sakala-paṃḍita-śiromaṇī paṃḍita śrī-Bhālas-chilakā-yamāna paṃḍita śrī-Prītavijaya-gaṇi-śiṣya paṃ śrī 5 śrī-Māṇikyavijaya-ga.gurubhyo nmaḥ (sic). 112 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 10⅜" high × 5" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 60.—Pṛthvīrāja-rāsau, the Hindi epic ascribed

to Cand Bardāī. 144 fols., in several hands; incomplete at end. Copied about 1800 A.D. Paper. 17½" high × 11¾" wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 61.—UTTARĀDHYAYANĀVACŪRI, a Sanskrit gloss by Jñānasāgara Sūri on the Uttarādhyayana, a Jain Prakrit scripture. 32 fols. Copied by Udayadarśana Gaṇi: probably sixteenth century. Col., fol. 32*a*: Śrī-Uttarādhyayanāvacūriḥ saṃpūrṇā kṛtā śrī-Jñānasāgara-sūri-pādaiḥ || likhitā ca saṃvat 1101 (a false date: the figures 11 have been written over other erased figures) varṣe Āso śudi 14 dine Śukra-vāre Udayadarśana-gaṇibhiḥ sva-śreyase tad-anu paropakṛtyai ceti bhadraṃ, etc. Paper. 11" high × 6⅛" wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 62.—STHĀNĀṄGA, or ṬHĀṆAṄGA, the third aṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jain scriptural Canon. With the commentary (vṛtti) of Abhayadeva. Colophon practically the same as that in Weber's Berlin Catalogue, vol. II, p. 401. 439 fols. Sixteenth or seventeenth century. Paper. 10⅞" high × 6" wide. *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 63.—SĀMUDRIKA, a Sanskrit tract on chiromancy, etc., with some Gujarati notes and additions, concluding with a Gujarati tilmas-lakṣaṇ on fols. 23–5. 25 fols. Copied about 1800 A.D. Paper. 6¾" high × 5" wide. *Sanskrit & Gujarati.*

MS. no. 64.—RĀṬHOṚĀ-RĪ VAṂŚĀVALĪ, a tract on the pedigrees of the Rathors, in prose and verse. 40 fols., incomplete at the end, followed by some blank pages and then three pages of writing on the same subject. Eighteenth century. Paper. 4¾" high × 7" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 65.—ŚĀNTINĀTHA-DEVA-CARITA, a Jain hagiological poem in 6 prastāvas by Ajitaprabha. 137 fols. Copied by Vipra Śāmalīyāka: finished V. Samvat 1665 = Śaka 1531, Vaiśākha kṛṣṇa 10, Thursday. Paper. 10⅜" high × 6" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 66.—DAŚA-VAIKĀLIKĀVACŪRṆI, a Sanskrit gloss on the Jain Prakrit scriptural text Daśa-vaikālika-sūtra

(Dasa-veyāliya). 11 fols. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Paper. 10⅛″ high × 5⅛″ wide. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

MS. no. 67.—NIRAYĀVALIYĀ-SŪYA (see above, no. 20). 24 fols. Eighteenth century. 10⅝″ high × 5⅛″ wide. Paper. *Prakrit.*

MS. no. 68.—VIKRAMA-KHĀPARĀ-CORA-CARITRA, a Jain ballad on a tale of King Vikrama and a thief, by Rājaśīla, disciple of Sādhuharṣa, composed in Jyeṣṭha śukla of Samvat 1653 at Citrakoṭa (fol. 6*b*: Pannaraha-saī tesaṭṭhaī vicāra Jeṭha māsi ūjala paṣa kāri Citrakoṭa-gaḍha tāsu majhāri bhavīaṇa bhaṇatā jaya 2 kāra), in a dialect of Old Gujarati verging sometimes on Apabhraṃśa. 6 fols. Copied in V. Samvat 1727. Paper. 10⅛″ high × 5⅜″ wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 69.—ILĀ-KUMĀRA-CAŪPAĪ, a Jain poem on a tale illustrating the moral principle of *bhāva*, by Jñānasāgara, disciple of Māṇikyasāgara, of the Vidhi-pakṣa, composed in Samvat 1719 (fol. 7*a*: saṃvata sataraüimaṇisā varaṣe Soṣapuraī manaharaṣaī che . . . Āsu sudi dina dvitayā sāraī Hasta-nakṣatra Budha-vāraīche). 7 fols. Copied by Gajasāgara in Kailawa in V. Samvat 1726. Col. : Iti śrī-bhāva-viṣaye Ilā-kumāra-caüpaī saṃpūrṇam || Gajasāgareṇa lipikṛtā || saṃvat 1726 varṣe Kayalāvā-madhye. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5⅛″ wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 70.—MADANA-KUMĀRA-RĀS, or MADANA-KUMĀRA-CAUPAĪ, or MADANA-KUMĀRA-CARITRA, a Jain ballad on the moral principle of *śīla* illustrated by a tale, composed by Dāmodara in Jalor in Samvat 1603 (sola saya guṇottari). 22 fols. Copied in Bhujnagar; finished V. Samvat 1752, Phālguna śu. 5, Guru-vāra. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5⅜″ wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 71.—VACCHARĀJA-HAṂSARĀJA-NĪ COPĪ, or HAṂSARĀJA-VATSARĀJA-KATHĀ, a ballad on a Jain story, by Jinodaya, disciple of Jayatilaka. Fols. 12–48. Copied by Bhīmaruci in Khimelnagar for the use of Udebhāṇ, disciple of Gokaljī; finished V. Samvat 1822, Vaiśākha ba. 2. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5⅛″ wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 72.—VACANIKĀ (or GUṆA-v°) KHĪCĪ ACALDĀS-JĪ-RĪ, an historical episode in prose and verse. 14 fols. Copied in Thombh; finished V. Samvat 1806, Phālguna śu. 14. Paper. 10″ high × 5½″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 73.—SAṄGRAHAṆĪ-RATNA, or TRAILOKYA-DĪPAKA, a Jain cosmography by Candra Sūri, disciple of Maladhāri Hemacandra (see above, no. 35). 16 fols. Seventeenth century. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5¼″ wide. *Prakrit.*

MS. no. 74.—JÑĀTĀ-DHARMA-KATHĀ, or NĀYA-DHAMMA-KAHĀ, a Jain Prakrit scripture. 134 fols. Copying finished on V. Samvat 1591, Māgha śu. 15; the colophon adds that in Samvat 1595, under the pontificate of Jinamāṇikya, the ms. was made over (vihāritam) by Sūdāka son of Harṣā in Koṭṭaḍānagara for the spiritual benefit of Kulatilaka Gaṇi and Bhāvaharṣa Gaṇi, disciples of Sādhucandra, in the santāna of Sāgaracandra, etc. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Prakrit.*

MS. no. 75.—SAṄGRĀMA-SĀRA, a poem summarizing the story of the Great War told in the Mahābhārata, composed by Kulapati Miśra by order of Maharaja Rām Singh; in 16 paricchedas. 285 fols. Copied by Miśra Rūpcand; late eighteenth century. Col.: Iti śrīman-mahārājādhirājā śrī-Rāma-siṃha-devājñayā Kulapati-miśreṇa viracite Saṃgrāma-sāre ṣoḍaśa-paricchedaḥ || lipya-kṛtaṃ Vāsībhāṃḍāre-ko Miśra Rūpacaṃda || śubhaṃ. Paper. 9″ high × 6¼″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 76.—SAṄGRĀMA-SĀRA. An incomplete copy, breaking off in the 14th pariccheda. 98 fols. 18th century? 8¼″ high × 10¾″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 77, vol. I.—The ĀDI-PARVA and SABHĀ-PARVA of the MAHĀBHĀRATA. 180 fols. and 52 fols. respectively. Both copied by Ṭoḍar Mal in Bharatpur; Ādi finished V. Samvat 1852, Kārttika śu. 2, Ravivāra, Sabhā Śaka 1717, Mārgaśirṣa ba. 13, Budhavāra. Paper. 14″ high × 9¼″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. II.—The VANA-PARVA of the MAHĀBHĀRATA.

226 fols. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal; finished V. Samvat 1853, Jyeṣṭha śu. 9. Paper. 14″ high × 9½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. III.—The VIRĀṬA-PARVA and UDYOGA-PARVA of the MAHĀBHĀRATA. 52 fols. and 162 fols. respectively. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal; Virāṭa finished V. Samvat 1852, Māgha kṛ. 11, Guruvāra, Udyoga V. Samvat 1853, Āsauj śu. 4, Budhavāra. Paper. 14″ high × 9½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. IV.—The BHĪṢMA-PARVA and DROṆA-PARVA of the MAHĀBHĀRATA. 106 fols. and 177 fols. respectively. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal in Bharatpur; Bhīṣma finished V. Samvat 1853, Āṣāḍha śu. 15, Budhavāra, Droṇa V. Samvat 1852, Caitra kṛ. 7, Budhavāra. Paper. 14″ high × 9½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. V.—The MAHĀBHĀRATA from the KARṆA-PARVA to the STRĪ-PARVA. Karṇa-p. 92 fols.; Śalya-p. 31 fols.; Gadā-p. 37 fols.; Sauptika-p. 17 fols.; Strī-p. 16 fols. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal in Bharatpur; Karṇa finished V. Samvat 1853 = Śaka 1718, Āṣāḍha ba. 3, Guruvāra, Śalya V. Samvat 1852, Pauṣya śu. 6, Śanivāra, Gadā Samvat 1852, Pauṣya śu. 9, Candravāra, Sauptika Samvat 1852, Māgha ba. 1, and Strī Samvat 1852, Kārttika śu. 11, Ravivāra. Paper. 14″ high × 9½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. VI.—The ŚĀNTI-PARVA of the MAHĀBHĀRATA from the Rāja-dharmānuśāsana-parva to the Āpad-dharma-parva. Rāja-dharmānuśāsana 96 fols.; Mokṣa-dharma 109 fols.; Āpad-dharma 34 fols. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal for Raja Tej Singh; finished respectively on V. Samvat 1853 = Śaka 1718, Mārgaśīrṣa ba. 10, Guruvāra, Samvat 1853, Kārttika ba. 3 (?), Ravivāra, and Samvat 1853, Śrāvaṇa ba. 7, Budhavāra. Paper. 14″ high × 9½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. VII.—The MAHĀBHĀRATA, from the Dāna-dharma of the ŚĀNTI-PARVA to the end of the Mahābhārata. Dāna-dh. 159 fols.; Aśva-medha-p. 54 fols.; Āśramavāsi-p. 26 fols.; Mausala-p. 7 fols.; Mahā-prasthāna-p. 3 fols.; Svargārohaṇa-p. 5 fols. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal;

Dāna-dharma finished V. Samvat 1853, Bhādrapada śu. 11, Bhaumavāra, Aśva-medha Samvat 1852, Phālguna kṛ. 6, Ravivāra, Mausala Samvat 1852, Mārgaśīrṣa śu. 1, Bhaumavāra, Svargārohaṇa Samvat 1852, Māgha ba. 14, Ravivāra. Paper. 14" high × 9½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 77, vol. VIII.—The HARI-VAṂŚA of the MAHĀBHĀRATA. 269 fols. Copied by Ṭoḍar Mal for Raja Tej Singh; finished V. Samvat 1853, Phālguna ba. 6, Bhṛguvāra. Paper. 14" high × 9½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 78.—A history of the Bhāṭī dynasty, originally of Lodorva, which later under Jesal founded Jaisalmer in A.D. 1155, the narrative being carried down to Samvat 1744; composed in a mixed Rajasthani dialect, prose and verse. 442 fols. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Paper. 6¾" high × 7¾" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 79.—A miscellaneous collection of ballads and prose tracts on the history of Rajasthan, etc. Eighteenth century. Paper. 5" high × 7⅜" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 80.—VAṂŚA-KALLOLA-SĀRA-SAMUCCAYA, a history of Rajput dynasties, in prose and verse. An imperfect copy, with some folios out of order. Followed by some other historical matter. Eighteenth century. Paper. 8⅜" high × 11½" wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 81.—(1) ḌHOLĀ-MĀRAVAṆĪ-KĪ (or ḌHOLĀ-MĀRŪJĪ-KĪ) BĀT, a series of Rajasthani poems, beginning with the tale of Nala and Damayantī. Fols. 1*a*-181*a*. Copied for the use of Bhāgcand Bhāusā; finished V. Samvat 1862, Phālguna śu. 7.

(2) KACCHĀHĀ-KĪ VAṂŚĀVALĪ, a pedigree of the Kachchhaba Rajputs. Fols. 181*b*-187*a*. Copying finished V. Samvat 1867, Bhādrapada śu. 13.

(3) Ballads, etc., in various hands, of the early eighteenth century. Fols. 187*b*-198.

Paper. 6¼" high × 6½" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 82.—PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU (see above, no. 60). 259 fols. (foliation skips from 140 to 142 without apparently any gap in the text; two fols. are numbered 223). Copied by

Paṇḍyā Trikam of the Moḍha-jñāti (see fol. 56*b*); finished V. Samvat 1692, Caitra śu. 2, Ravivāra. Paper. 9¼″ high × 13⅞″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 83.—SŪTRA-PĀṬHA of Pāṇini, preceded by the two verses beginning yenākṣara-samāmnāyaṃ. 102 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 8⅛″ high × 5⅛″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 84.—DHĀTU-PĀṬHA or lists of roots compiled by Bhīmasena. 19 fols. Copied apparently by Pandit Vidyādhara; finished Samvat 46 (? 1846), Śrāvaṇa śu. 3, Śani. Paper. 9¼″ high × 5⅛″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 85.—DHĀTU-PĀRĀYAṆA, Hemacandra's exposition of his Dhātu-pāṭha. 107 fols. (fol. 106 missing ?). Seventeenth century. Paper. 11″ high × 6″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 86.—PRAKRIYĀ-KAUMUDĪ, the grammar of Rāmacandra; the subanta-section, ending with the words *iti taddhita-prakriyā*. 139 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 10⅛″ high × 6½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 87.—ABHIDHĀNA-CINTĀMAṆI, Hemacandra's lexicon. With the commentary Nāmnāṃ Sāroddhāra of Vallabha Gaṇi. The latter in the verses appended to his commentary gives his spiritual ancestry. He praises in succession Vardhamāna Gaṇi's disciple Jineśvara, who in Samvat 1080 by his victory over disputants gained from King Durlabharāja in Aṇahillapattana the title Kharatara; his successor Abhayadeva, who commented on the Nine Aṅgas and glorified the image of Stambhana-Pārśvanātha; his successor Jinavallabha, who wrote the Piṇḍa-viśuddhi, Karma-śāstras, etc.; his successor (after some generations) Jinacandra, whom Akbar honoured with the title Yuga-pradhāna; and Jinasiṃha, made pontiff by him in Lahore (Lābhapura) on the Pādshāh's intercession. He then states that in the pontificate of the last two Sūris, in Samvat 1667, at Jodhpur (Yodhapurodraṅge), he (Vallabha) composed this commentary, and gives his spiritual pedigree, of which the members, counted backwards, were Jñānavimala, Bhānumeru, Cāritrasāra, Bhaktilābha, Ratnacandra, Jayasāgara, and

Jinarāja Sūri. 107 fols. (really 106, for the numbering omits 85, though there is no gap). Seventeenth century. Paper. 10¼″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 88.—PRAKRIYĀ-KAUMUDĪ of Rāmacandra (see above, no. 86), the subanta section, ending *iti taddhita-prakriyā*. 129 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 10⅝″ high × 6⅝″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 89.—(1) AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ of Pāṇini, with vārttikas, down to VI. i. 1. 36 fols.

(2) PRAKRIYĀ-KAUMUDĪ of Rāmacandra, from the tiṅanta to the kṛdanta section. 122 fols.

Eighteenth century. Paper. 10¾″ high × 6½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 90.—SIDDHĀNTA-KAUMUDĪ of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita. In 2 parts; pt. i has 92 fols., pt. ii 53 fols. Part i and fols. 1–36 of part ii are of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, the rest of the eighteenth. Paper. 11⅞″ high × 5¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 91. SARVAṂKAṢĀ, Mallinātha's commentary on Māgha's Śiśupāla-vadha. Incomplete at the end, all after xii. 40 being lost; 247 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 13¾″ high × 8¼″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 92.—AMARA-KOŚA, the lexicon of Amarasiṃha, with Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's commentary VYĀKHYĀ-SUDHĀ. Incomplete at the end, all after xvi. 77 being lost; 109 fols. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Paper. 13⅛″ high × 8¼″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 93.—MEDINĪ-KOŚA or ANEKĀRTHA-KOŚA, the lexicon of Medinīkara. 69 fols. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Paper. 13⅛″ high × 8⅛″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 94.—Hemacandra's dictionaries ANEKĀRTHA-SAṄGRAHA and ABHIDHĀNA-CINTĀMAṆI, with index by Maithila Vidyākara Miśra. 62 + 52 + 53 fols. Circa A.D. 1800. Paper. 13¼″ high × 8⅛″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 95.—(1) Puruṣottama Deva's dictionary TRIKĀṆḌA-ŚEṢA, with index. 35 + 20 fols.

(2) Puruṣottama Deva's dictionary HĀRĀVALĪ, with index. 10 + 7 fols.

Circa A.D. 1800. Paper. 13¼" high × 8⅛" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 96.—Bhavabhūti's poem UTTARA-RĀMA-CARITA. 37 fols. Copied by Miśra Nāthūrām; finished V. Samvat 1758, Āśvina śu. 6. Paper. 13⅜" high × 7⅞" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 97.—BHOJA-PRABANDHA, life of King Bhoja, by Ballāla. 62 fols. Eighteenth century. Paper. 12¾" high × 7" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 98.—A manual of letter-writing by Dalapati Rāya, written under the patronage of Maharaja Mādhava Siṃha. On fol. 1*a* is written: "Patra lekha prakárádeṣah (?). Directions for writing letters. Sanscrit. (Incomplete.)" 38 fols. Circa A.D. 1800. 10¼" high × 6" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 99.—A lithographed copy of an edition of Vararuci's PRĀKṚTA-PRAKĀŚA with Bhāmaha's commentary, revised by Viṣṇuśarman of Bombay by order of Mr. W. H. Wathen, copied by Jośī Bāpū Śarman, and published in A.D. 1835. 88 fols. 10" high × 8" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 100.—NEMINĀTHA-CARITRA, being parva viii of Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra. 87 fols. Sixteenth–seventeenth century. Paper. 4½" high × 10" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 101.—BṚHAT-KṢETRA-SAMĀSA, a Jain cosmography by Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa, with Malayagiri's commentary. Fols. 738–819. Copied in Pattan; finished V. Samvat 1332, Āśvina sita 13. Paper. 4½" high × 10½" wide. *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

MSS. nos. 102 and 103.—Vacant.

MS. no. 104.—Tulasī Dāsa's religious poem RĀMĀYAṆA or RĀMA-CARITA-MĀNASA. Copied in V. Samvat 1832; pt. i (79 fols.) was finished on Kārttika śu. 11, pt. ii (65 fols.) is not dated, pt. iii (16 fols.) was finished on Kārttika kṛ. 7, pt. iv (8 fols.) in Bhādra sita, pt. v (14 fols.) on Bhādra śu. 15, pt. vi (35 fols.) on Āśvina śu. 3, and pt. vii (a fragment, containing only fols. 30–3) in Bhādra sita. Contained between

wooden boards, together with a fragment (fols. 1–37) of a Hindi ADHYĀTMA-RĀMĀYAṆA, in verse, which is not the version of Gulāb Singh. All in the same hand; a few fols. are missing. Paper. 11½" high × 6¾" wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 106.—A collection of historical ballads and Jain poems in dialects of Rajputana. Sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, in various hands. Paper. 9¼" high × 7" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 107.—(1) Ajitaprabha's ŚĀNTINĀTHA-CARITA (see above, no. 65). Incomplete at end; fols. 1–121. Fifteenth century. *Sanskrit.*

(2) A work on Jain physical doctrines, religious practices, history of sects, etc., in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Incomplete at end: fols. 1–49, 51–70, 72–9, 85–95. Sixteenth–seventeenth century. *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

Paper. 10⅞" high × 6" wide.

MS. no. 108.—A volume containing the following:—

(1) The last folio of a ms. of the UTTARĀDHYAYANA. Copied in Jesalmer; finished Āṣāḍha, V. Samvat 1582. *Prakrit.*

(2) Fols. 2–29 of a commentary on UTTARĀDHYAYANA, based more or less on Śānti Sūri's Śiṣya-hitā. Sixteenth century. *Sanskrit.*

(3) Fols. 1–5 of a Jain hagiological poem with the heading *Devakī*, but ending with the words *ittī* (sic) *Gaya-sukumāla-nī dhāl 14.* Sixteenth century. *Gujarati.*

(4) Jain tract. 29 fols. Seventeenth century? *Gujarati.*

(5) Fols. 22–31, 33–5, 38, 40, 41, 43, and 44 from a ms. of a Jain work containing Sanskrit stories of legendary saints and historical Sūris and others with expositions, in Sanskrit, illustrated by verses in Sanskrit and Prakrit (not the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi or Prabandha-kośa). Sixteenth century. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

(6) Fols. 155–173 (end) of Malayagiri's SŪRYA-PRAJÑAPTI-ṬĪKĀ. Copied in Jesalmer by Josī Gaṅgadāsa; finished V. Samvat 1668 = Śaka 1533, Śrāvaṇa śu. 14, Soma. *Sanskrit.*

(7) Fols. 34–61 (end) of Jñānasāgara's ĀVAŚYAKA-AVACŪRṆI,

a gloss in Sanskrit on the Āvaśyaka, based on Haribhadra's Bṛhad-vṛtti. Fifteenth century. *Sanskrit & Prakrit.*

(8) Two fols. of Merutuṅga's Megha-dūta-kāvya. Sixteenth century. *Sanskrit.*

(9) Fols. 6–9 (end) of the Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra. Finished V. Samvat 1504, Vaiśākha ba. 11, Bhauma. *Sanskrit.*

Paper. 11″ high × 5⅛″ wide.

MS. no. 109.—A volume containing :—

(1) Gajasiṃha-caritra, a Jain narrative poem. End of composition dated Samv. 1556 (पनर छपनर सही), 1 Jeṭh punima, Budhavāra, under Anurādhā. 18 fols. Sixteenth or seventeenth century. *Gujarati.*

(2) Fols. 1–8 of a Jain poem. Fifteenth or sixteenth century. *Gujarati.*

(3) Fols. 1–11 of a Jain poem. Sixteenth century. *Gujarati.*

(4) 1 fol. of historical and genealogical notes. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

Paper. 10⅞″ high × 5½″ wide.

MS. no. 110.—A volume containing :—

(1) Fols. 1–56 of a ms. of Uttarādhyayana (wanting fols. 27, 29–42, and 47). Fifteenth century ? *Prakrit.*

(2) Fols. 2–28 of Saṅgrahaṇī-bāla-bodha, a Gujarati interpretation of the Saṅgrahaṇī or Saṃghayaṇi. Sixteenth century. *Gujarati.*

(3) Fols. 1–30 of a ms. of Uttarādhyayana with Sanskrit and Gujarati commentary. Fifteenth century. *Prakrit, Sanskrit, & Gujarati.*

(4) Fols. 1–22 of a ms. of Jagad-vilāsa, a Sanskrit poem on legends of Śiva, by Devarāma. Sixteenth century. *Sanskrit.*

(5) Fols. 6–50 (end) of a ms. of Devendra's Pravacana-sāroddhāra, in Prakrit, with Sanskrit gloss. Fifteenth century ? *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

Paper. 11″ high × 5¾″ wide.

MS. no. 111.—Bhaṭṭi-kāvya-ṭīkā, a commentary by Aniruddha Paṇḍita on the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya. 188 fols., in leather

case. Fourteenth century? Palm-leaf. 12¾" wide × 2¼" high. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 112.—Vardhamāna's GAṆA-RATNA-MAHODADHI, on the roots of Sanskrit, with his own commentary. 178 fols., in wooden boards. Copying finished on Śaka 1151 elapsed = Virodhi, Kārttika ba. 5, Budha (see preface to pt. i of Eggeling's edition). Palm-leaf. 17⅜" wide × 2¼" high (on the average). *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 113.—The NAVA-SĀHASĀṄKA-CARITA of Padmagupta (Parimala), a panegyrical poem on the Paramāra king Sindhurāja. 185 fols., in wooden boards. Mostly of the twelfth or thirteenth century, with part in a somewhat later hand. Palm-leaf. 1½" high × 12" wide (on the average). *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 114.—UPADEŚA-RASĀYANA and DHARMA-RASĀYANA or CACCARĪ, Jain doctrinal poems in Apabhraṃśa Prakrit by Jinadatta; with Sanskrit commentaries (Saṃkṣepa-vivaraṇa) by Jinapāla disciple of Jinapati, composed in Samvat 1294. See J.R.A.S., 1940, p. 67ff. 67 fols., in wooden boards. Fourteenth century. Palm-leaf. 1¾" high × 14½" wide (maximum). *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 115.—PRADEŚI-RĀJA-RĀS, a poem on a Jain legend. Fols. 27. Copied in Rājanagara by Pratāpavijaya, disciple of Padmavijaya; finished V. Samvat 1786, Vaiśākha śu. 14, Somavāra. Paper. 10½" high × 5⅜" wide. *Gujarati.*

MS. no. 116.—BĀT JOĪĀ, an account of the history of the Rathors in prose and verse from the times of Sultan 'Alā ul-Dīn. Fols. 1–102 (remainder missing). Circa 1800. Paper. 4¾" high × 8" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 117.—A ms. containing:—

(1) Ratnaśekhara's LAGHU-KṢETRA-SAMĀSA, a Jain cosmography in Prakrit, with Gujarati bālāvabodha. 37 fols. Copied in Kishangarh by Nemicand; finished V. Samvat 1872, Āso badi 2. Paper. 9¾" high × 4½" wide. *Prakrit & Gujarati.*

(2) One folio of an astrological work. Circa 1820. Paper. 10¼″ high × 4¼″ wide. *Sanskrit & Gujarati.*

MS. no. 118.—Nanda Dāsa's Brajbhakha metrical version of the Rāsa-pañcādhyāyī (Bhāgavata-purāṇa X. xxix–xxxiii). 27 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 8½″ high × 6½″ wide. *Brajbhakha Hindi.*

MS. no. 119.—Āsaḍa's VIVEKA-MAÑJARĪ, a Jain Prakrit poem, with Bālacandra's Sanskrit commentary from the beginning to the end of the 4th parimala. 294 fols., in wooden boards. Copied by Sāḍhala; colophon: saṃvat 1336 varṣe Vaiśāṣa vadi 13 Ravāv adyeha śrī-Devapattane sakala-rājāvalī-pūrvaṃ mahāmahattara-gaḍa-śrī-Para-vṛhaspati-pratipattau śrī-Prāgvāṭa-jñātīya ṭha° Nānā-suta° ṭha . . maṇa-bhāryā ṭhakurayaṇā-devyā svakīya-mātā-pitā-dvayor arthaṃ likhāpitaṃ || mahaṃ° Sāḍhalena liṣitaṃ || Palm-leaf. About 28½″ wide × 2⅜″ to 2⅝″ high. *Prakrit & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 120.—PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU, ascribed to Cand Bardāī. Fols. 110 + 18 + 198 + 6 + 3 + 8 + 2 + 3 + 5 + 7 + 11 + 11 + 8 + 90 + 132 + 110, with a loose index-slip at end. Copied by various scribes under the patronage of Maharanas Kiśor Singh and Bhīm Singh. The colophon of prastāva 36 (Haṃsāvatī-vivāha) gives the scribe's name as Gulāb and date as Samvat 1883, Jeṭh, kṛṣṇa, Sauma, in the reign of Kiśor Singh; the colophons of pr. 38 and 43 mention Bhīm Singh as reigning. The final colophon gives the date as Samvat 1883, uttarāyana, Vaiśākha śu. 4, Guruvāra, and the place as the temple of Vraja-nātha in Kota. The text is preceded by a coloured fancy picture of Pṛthvīrāja in fair Rajput style. Paper; in native binding with flap, covered with red flowered silk; inside is written "Presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, by Major I. Caulfeild. Nov. 3, 1827". 13¼″ high × 9½″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 121.—The DASAM PĀDSHĀH-KĀ GRANTH of Guru Gobind. 709 fols. Copied Samvat 1885; presented by Jawāhir Singh to Sir Claude M. Wade, and by the latter to

the Royal Asiatic Society. Paper. 14¾″ high × 13¼″ wide. *Panjabi.*

MS. no. 122.—A collection of tales, beginning with Panā-kī bāt and ending with Puvār-rī bāt. 2 + 178 + 42 fols. Copied by several scribes; for date see ms. no. 123. Paper. 13¼″ high × 9¾″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 123.—Continuation of ms. no. 122, beginning with the second story of Ratnamañjarī and ending with Acalā-khīcī-bāt. Fols. 179–422. Copied for Col. Tod at Udaipur in the reign of Bhīm Singh by various scribes; finished V. Samvat 1878 = Śaka 1744, Jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 3, Guruvāsara. Paper. 13¼″ high × 9¾″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 124.—The Travels of Vīrasāmi Mudaliyār, in Marathi (Modi script). Labelled on the outside of the first board: "Travels of Veerasawmy Moodaliar from Madras to Calcutta via Nagpore and Benares and back again to Madras." 319 fols. Circa 1820. With book-plate of Major-General Briggs. Paper. 12½″ high × 9½″ wide. *Marathi.*

MS. no. 125.—A volume containing:—

(1) Jaī-singh-kā Guṇ, Hindi prose panegyric on Jai Singh; 2 fols.

(2) Fragment of history of Jai Singh, in Hindi prose; 7 fols.

(3) Rāja-taraṅgiṇī, a sketch of the history of kings from the Tīrthaṃkara Ṛṣabha's son Kuru to Anaṅgapāla, by Miśra Raghunātha, in Sanskrit and Hindi prose; 18 fols.

(4) Gahilotānvaya, a Hindi prose pedigree of Gahilots, compiled by order of Savāī Jai Singh, and followed by the beginning (17 lines) of the history of another Rajput family; 11½ fols.

(5) Hindi version of extract from Tawārīkh Mir'āt-i Iskandarī; 20½ fols.

(6) Hindi version of extract from Khulāṣat ul-tawārīkh; 6 fols.

(7) Verses 1–72 of a tale of Vikramāditya, in Sanskrit verse; 4 fols.

Circa 1820. Paper. 12¼″ high × 9⅛″ wide. *Hindi & Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 126.—A volume containing:—

(1) Hindusthān-kī Bādshāhī-kā Pramāṇ vā Oddhā Kārkhānā-kī Kitāb, a tabulated sketch of administrative offices in the kingdoms of India, preceded by a sketch of Indian history from Tīmūr's arrival in Samvat 1414 down to Jai Singh's reign, in prose. Fols. 1–20. Circa 1820. *Hindi.*

(2) A version of Vikrama-vilāsa, tales of Vikramāditya in prose and verse by Miśra Gaṅgeśa. Fols. 21–59. Copying finished V. Samvat 1874, Mārgaśīrṣa śu. 8. Paper. 12¼″ high × 9¼″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 127.—A volume containing fair copies of ten inscriptions, nine of them Sanskrit and one Hindi, in Chitor. 12 fols.; in red velvet binding. Paper. 12½″ high × 9¾″ wide. *Sanskrit & Hindi.*

MS. no. 128.—A transcript, in large script, of a Marathi version of the Vidura-nīti printed at Bombay in 1823. 314 fols. Followed by a Marathi version of the Yakṣa-praśna, another extract from the Mahābhārata. 24 fols. On the flyleaf is written "John Briggs, Nagpoor, April 1834". Paper. 9¾″ high × 6½″ wide. *Marathi.*

MS. no. 129.—Khumāṇ-rāso, a poem by Dalapati on the careers of Rana Khumāṇ of Mewar and his descendants. 176 fols.; with many gaps; breaks off in the middle of verse 3576. Circa 1800. Paper. 9½″ high × 6¾″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 130.—Vijaya-vilāsa, a metrical history of Jodhpur; with a note in Tod's handwriting on the flyleaf, "Beejy Bulass or History of Jodpoor. Composed at desire of Rajah Beejy Sing. Obtained from Rajas Library when I was in Marwar. J. Tod." 124 fols. Early nineteenth century. Paper. 9¼″ high × 6¾″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 131.—Kacchavāha-kī Vaṃśāvalī, a metrical sketch of the history of the Kacchavāhā dynasty. 43 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 9¾″ high × 6½″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 132.—SISODYĀ-KĪ VAṂŚĀVALĪ (so colophon), brief notices or अहवाल (ahwāl) concerning Ranas of Mewar, beginning (after an introduction) with Padmāditya and ending with Rāj Singh. 43 fols. Early nineteenth century. 9½″ high × 6⅞″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 133.—A volume containing :—

(1) Fragment of a work on chiromancy (sāmudrika), with two diagrams. 1 fol. Seventeenth century. *Gujarati.*

(2) Fragment of Sanskrit commentary on the description of the Uttara-kurus in Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti IV. 2 fols. Seventeenth century. *Sanskrit.*

(3) Fragment of Jain work on souls. 1 fol. Seventeenth century. *Sanskrit.*

(4) Fragment of Sanskrit and Gujarati gloss on Jīvābhigama. 7 fols. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. *Sanskrit, Prakrit, & Gujarati.*

(5) Two similar folios.

(6) Fragment of Gujarati gloss on Ācārāṅga. 7 fols. Seventeenth century. *Prakrit & Gujarati.*

(7) Fragment of Gujarati gloss on Jīvābhigama. 7 fols. Seventeenth century. *Prakrit & Gujarati.*

Paper. 5″ high × 11″ wide.

MS. no. 134.—ṚṢABHA-CARITRA, a Jain hagiological poem in 3 kāṇḍas (vanitā-kāṇḍa, kaivalya-k°, and uddhāra-k°), by Dinayara-sāgara. 91 fols., in native leather binding, crudely stamped. Late eighteenth century, in several hands. Paper. c. 6⅜″ high × c. 6¼″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 135.—Ballāla's BHOJA-PRABANDHA, a legendary life of King Bhoja. 101 fols. Early nineteenth century. Paper. 7⅞″ high × 5″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 136.—AŚVA-PARĪKṢĀ, a metrical tract on the points of horses, purporting to be translated from Sanskrit; with coloured illustrations. On the flyleaf is a note in Tod's handwriting, "History of Horses or Salotr," etc. 13 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 8¼″ high × 5⅝″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 137.—Śaṅkara Miśra's VAIŚEṢIKA-SŪTROPASKĀRA,

a commentary on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra. 128 fols. Colophon: iti śrī-mahā-mahopādhyāya-Miśra-Bhavanāth-ātmaja-Miśra-śrī-Śaṃkara-kṛte vaiśeṣika-sūtropaskāre daśamo dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ | 10 ||; in another hand saṃ 36. Circa 1800. Paper. 11⅝″ high × 7½″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 138.—VAṂŚĀVALĪ, a history of Jaisalmer down to Jaswant Singh's accession in A.D. 1702. 238 fols.; with many gaps, and breaking off abruptly. Labelled on the back: "The Annals of Jessulmér. Sanscrit MS." Eighteenth century. Paper. 14⅜″ high × 10″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 139.—ABHAI-SINGHJĪ-RĀ PARAMA-JASA-RĀJA-RŪPAKA, or RĀJA-RŪPAKA, a poem on the careers of Ajīt Singh of Jodhpur (1678–1724) and his son Abhai Singh, composed for Bīrbhāṇ (बीरभांण), a courtier of Abhai Singh. Described in a note in Tod's handwriting on the first leaf thus: "Raj Roopuk Akheât from S 1735 to S 1787. Containing the whole reign of Ajeet Sing from his Birth to the Battle of Ahmedabad & defeat of Subullund" [i.e. Sarbuland] "Khan the Rebel Viceroy of Mohummud Shah presented to me by Raj Rajesswur Maun Sing Raja," etc. 131 fols. Late eighteenth century. Paper. 9¾″ high × 13¼″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 140.—JAMBŪDVĪPA-PRAJÑAPTI (parikarma no. 3 of the Jain scriptural Canon). 205 fols. Copied for Kīkī Bāī, a pious lady (śrāvikā) of Būṭapādra; finished V. Samvat 1642, Caitra śu. 10, Ravi. Paper. 11¼″ high × 6¼″ wide. *Prakrit.*

MS. no. 141.—SŪRAJ-PRAKĀŚ, a history of Maharaja Abhai Singh of Marwar in 7,500 verses by Karaṇī Dān. 142 fols., in red velvet binding with flap; with note by Tod on the flyleaf, "Presented to me by Raja Maun Sing of Marwar." Copied by Kisan-dās; finished V. Samvat 1872, Phālguna badi 5 (?), Bhṛgudina. Paper. 11½″ high × 10″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 142.—RATAN-RĀSO, a bardic history of the struggle of Jaswant Singh of Marwar against Aurangzeb leading up to the battle of Dharmatpur and the heroic death there of

Rao Ratan Singh of Ratlam. 100 fols., in red velvet cover with flap; with note by Tod on flyleaf, "Presented to me by Raja Maun Sing of Marwar." Copied in Jodhpur by Brāhmaṇ Gaṇeśadatta; finished V. Samvat 1875, Pauṣa śu. (tithi ?), Budha. Paper. 11⅝" high × 9" wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 143.—Rājā-kavāṭ-rī Vārttā, a history in verse and prose beginning with the exploits of Anant Rāi Sānkhlā and ending with those of Ālaṇ Singh. 1–86 fols. Colophon: iti śrī-Ālaṇa-siṃha-Bhāṭīnai Harā-hula-roḥ saṃvādau saṃpūrṇa ‖ śrīra ‖ Circa 1800. Paper. 6½" high × 5¼" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no. 144.—Trikāṇḍa-cintāmaṇi, a commentary by Raghunātha Cakravarti on Amarakośa. 294 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 11¼" high × 6⅝" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 145.—A volume containing eighty-six fair copies of official letters; with some loose sheets containing translations in Tod's handwriting, etc. Early nineteenth century. Paper. 13¼" high × 9½" wide. *Hindi & English.*

MS. no. 146.—Vikrama-caritra, or Pañca-daṇḍa-cchattra-caritra, a metrical version of the Tales of Vikramāditya, composed in Samvat 1490 by Rāmacandra Sūri under the patronage of Abhayacandra Sūri. 57 fols. Copied in Kota; finished V. Samvat 1878, Māgha śu. 3, Bhṛguvāsara. Paper. 9½" high × 6¼" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 147.—Bhoja-carita, a Jain version of the legendary life of King Bhoja, in five sargas or prastāvas, by Rājavallabha Pāṭhaka, disciple of Mahātilaka Sūri, of the Dharmaghoṣa-gaccha. Sarga i ends on fol. 20*a*, sarga ii on fol. 25*a*, prastāva iii on fol. 34*b*, prastāva iv on fol. 66*b*, prastāva v on fol. 87*b*. 87 fols. Copied in Kota; finished V. Samvat 1876, Vaiśākha śu. 10, Ravi. Paper. 8½" high × 5¾" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 148.—Śakunāvalī-vicāra (wrongly spelt in the ms. Sukanāvalī), a work on omens from beasts and birds, etc., ascribed to a "Jina-vara", with many coloured illustrations; with a note on the flyleaf by Tod "Sookun avali or History of Omens from Library of Rawul Moolraj

of Jesselmere". Copying finished V. Samvat 1875, Caitra śu. 7, Bhṛgu°. This is followed by tables, diagrams, and pictures of ominous birds, with rules for interpreting omens from them, the writing being in the same hand as that of the Śakunāvalī. 40 fols. Paper. 9⅜" high × 6¾" wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

MS. no 149.—Vacant.

MS. no. 150.—BHAKTI-SŪTRA, or BHAKTI-MĪMĀṂSĀ, the aphorisms ascribed to Śāṇḍilya, with Svapneśvara's commentary. 30 fols.; between two wooden boards together with ms. no. 151; both mss. seem to have come from Muir's collection. Copied circa 1820 by Naḍumiṇḍimiṇṭi Rāmacandra. Paper. 4⅝" high × 10½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 151.—VEDĀRTHA-SAṄGRAHA, a philosophical tract ascribed to Rāmānuja. 80 fols.; in boards with no. 150, and also apparently from Muir's collection. Eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Paper. 5½" high × 13¾" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 152.—A manuscript containing the following:—

(1) Three odd leaves and bark cover.

(2) Eighteen fols. containing (*a*) Puruṣottama Deva's dictionary HĀRĀVALĪ on fols. 1*a*–9*a*; (*b*) a work on phonetics, comprising Tālavya-śa-nirdeśa on fols. 9*a*–10*a*, Ādi-dantya-ja-nirdeśa on fols. 10*a*–11*b*, and Dvidantya-makāra-nirdeśa on fols. 11*b*–12*a*; (*c*) Kavi-karṇapūra's VṚTTA-MĀLĀ, a tract on metres, on fols. 12*b*–18*b*.

(3) Two fols. forming the beginning of a collection of moral verses starting with "Ambhojinī-vana-vilāsanam", etc. (from Bhartṛhari), and containing many stanzas found in Kusumadeva's Dṛṣṭānta-śataka.

(4) Fols. 2–96 of a copy of ŚABDA-RATNĀVALĪ, a lexicon by Mathureśa, a courtier of Mūsa Khān; comprising svarga-varga-prakāśa (fols. 2*a*–12*a*), bhūmi-v.°-pr.° (fols. 12*a*–16*b*), pura-v.°-pr.° (fols. 16*b*–18*a*), śaila-v.°-pr.° (fols. 18*a*–18*b*), vanauṣadhi-v.°-pr.° (fols. 18*b*–25*a*), siṃhādi-v.°-pr.° (fols. 25*a*–27*b*), manuṣya-v.°-pr.° (fols. 27*b*–33*a*), brahma-v.°-pr.° (fols. 33*a*–35*b*), kṣatra-v.°-pr.° (fols. 35*b*–40*a*), vaiśya-v.°-pr.°

(fols. 40*a*–45*a*), śūdra-v.°-pr.° (fols. 45*a*–46*b*), prāṇi-v.°-pr°. (fols. 46*b*–47*b*), viśeṣaṇa-v.°-pr.° (fols. 47*b*–50*a*), saṃkīrṇa-v.°-pr.° (fols. 50*a*–52*b*), and nānārtha (fols. 52*b* and ff.). Copying finished Śaka 1699, Vaiśākha sita. Colophon on fol. 96*b*: iti mahārāja-śrī-yuta-masanda-elli [i.e. masnad-i a'la]-viracitāyāṃ Śabda-ratnāvalyāṃ strī-liṅga-saṃgrahaḥ ‖ śrī-Hariḥ śaraṇaṃ ‖ Vaiśākha-māsi site pakṣe Śāke . . . (erasure) śrī-Śabda-ratnāvali-nāma-pustakaṃ samāptaṃ ‖ 1699. See "A Muslim Contribution to Hindu Culture" by B. Seshagiri Rao in *Le Monde Oriental*, xx (1926), pp. 227–230.

Written in Assamese script on 4 + 18 + 96 + 2 thin wooden leaves with bark covers, in wooden boards, mostly about 17" wide × 4½" high; presented by Lieut. Brooke, afterwards Raja Sir James Brooke of Sarawak. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 152*.—A lithographed book, being a copy of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita's drama JĀNAKĪ-PARIṆAYA, edited by Viṣṇuśarma Paṇḍita by order of Mr. W. H. Wathen and published in 1835 at London; with hand-coloured illustrations. 288 pages. Paper. 9½" high × 7¾" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 153.—The Kanauj-khaṇḍ of the PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU ascribed to Cand Bardāī. 202 fols. Copied by Devīdatta at Udesar for Maharaj-kumar Kumar Kehrī Singh; finished V. Saṃvat 1853, Pauṣa kṛṣṇa 12, Sunday. Paper. 9¼" high × 6¾" wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 154.—Three cantos of the PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU :—

(1) Baḍīveṭhī-kau Samayau, or Baḍīveḍī-rāja-grahaṇa. 134 fols. Copied by Devīdatta at Udesar for Kumar Kehrī Singh; finished V. Saṃvat 1853, Pauṣa śu. 14, Bṛhaspativāsare.

(2) Vāṇa-vedhaka-hāva, or Pātasāhi-Gorī-sahāvadīna-vedhana (*i.e.* Ghorī-Shihāb-ul-Dīn). 50 fols. Copied by the same scribe for the same patron; finished V. Saṃvat 1854, Vaiśākha badi 9, Guruvāsare.

(3) Sikār-śnāpa-samayau. 23 fols. Copied by same scribe for same patron; finished V. Samvat 1853, Śaka 1718, Māgha kṛṣṇa 11, Candravāsare.

Paper. 9" high × 6¼" wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 155.—Subandhu's romance VĀSAVA-DATTĀ. 54 fols. Copied V. Samvat 1904. Paper. *Sanskrit.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 156.—ĀLHA-KHAṆḌ, a semi-historical ballad ascribed to Kavi Cand and included in the Pṛthvīrāja-rāsau. 37 fols. Early nineteenth century. Paper. 7¾″ high × 6¼″ wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 157.—Part of a copy of PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU, containing verses numbered from 52 to 1911, with the 1912th verse unfinished. 148 fols.; labelled on the front "No. 4. Proodhoo Raja Catha". Eighteenth century. 8¾″ high × 6⅝″ wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 158.—HĪRĀ-RAÑJHĀ, a romantic poem in 360 verses. Followed by the beginning of another poem. Fols. 90–198. Early nineteenth century. 3⅞″ high × 6⅝″ wide. *Panjabi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 159.—The Padmāvatī-khaṇḍ of the PṚTHVĪ-RĀJA-RĀSAU. 69 pages. Copied by Pāṇḍe Hariprasāda; finished Śaka 1903, Kārttika kṛṣṇa 10, Budhavāsare. Paper. 11¼″ high × 8¾″ wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 160.—Part I of the PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU, viz. from the Ādi-parva to the end of the 63rd prastāva, concluding with Cand's coming to Delhi. 74 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 11¾″ high × 8⅛″ wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection ?)

MS. no. 161.—Part I of PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU, viz. from the Ādi-parva to the end of Vāṇa-vedha-khaṇḍ. 47 fols. Circa 1800. Paper. 11¾″ high × 8¼″ wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 162.—The Kanauj-khaṇḍ of PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU. 68 fols. Copied by Pāṇḍe Hariprasāda for Raja Cet Singh Devjū; finished 20th January, 1847. Paper. 13½″ high × 8¾″ wide. *Hindi.* (Elliot Collection.)

MS. no. 163.—A volume containing the following:—

(1) On fols. 1–21, a poem by Raṇbor Bhaṭṭa on the exploits of kings of Mewar, in 18 sargas, the first entitled Jaya-siṃha-guṇa-varṇana and the second Amara-siṃha-guṇa-sāgara;

the title of the whole seems to be Jaya-vilāsa or something of the kind.

(2) On fols. 22-51 (end), a poem in 32 sargas by Sadāśiva on the history of the kings of Mewar entitled RĀJA-RATNĀKARA.

There is a note in Tod's handwriting before the first page, "Containing 1st, Raj Ruttunakur 2d. Jeyu Lass (?) Bulass." 51 fols., with many lacunæ. Both works copied in Udaipur by the same scribe in A.D. 1819. Paper. 13½" high × 9½" wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 164.—A volume of Hindi poems, mostly erotic, viz. :—

(1) VRAJA-SVARŪPA, by Ānanda.

(2) RASA-VILĀSA, by Devadatta.

(3) RASA-RATNĀVALĪ, by Maṇḍana.

(4) RASA-RĀJA, by Matirāma.

(5) KAVI-PRIYĀ, by Keśava Dāsa.

(6) PREMA-RATNĀKARA, by Miśra Devīdāsa, written for Prince Ratnapāla.

(7) AṢṬA-JĀMA, by Devadatta.

(8) RASIKA-PRIYĀ, by Keśava Dāsa.

(9) SAṄGRĀMA-SĀRA, by Miśra Kulapati (see above, no. 75).

(10) ŚṚṄGĀRA-RASA-MĀDHURĪ. by Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Devarṣi.

(11) CAND-RASIK.

(12) A version by Rasa-jāni Vaiṣṇava-dāsa of Jayadeva's GĪTA-GOVINDA.

(13) Skandha III of the BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA in Hindi verse; copied by Bhāskara for Raja Raṇjīt Singh of Vraja in V. Samvat 1839.

(14) Another copy of SAṄGRĀMA-SĀRA, with same colophon as no. 13.

(15) Skandha X, part 2, of the BHĀGAVATA-PURĀṆA (the Vraja-vinoda), done into Hindi verse by Somanātha of Mathura for Raja Sujān Singh of Vraja; copied by Bhāskara for Raja Raṇjīt Singh of Vraja in V. Samvat 1841.

(16) Tulasī Dāsa's RĀMA-CARITA-MĀNASA or RĀMĀYAṆA; copied V. Samvat 1843; fols. 1–8 wanting.

The ms. was taken by Lord Combermere from the library of the Raja of Bhartpur and presented by him to Mr. Charles W. Williams Wynn; it was given to the Royal Asiatic Society by Mrs. Williams Wynn. Paper, in red velvet embroidered binding. 15¼″ high × 12″ wide. *Hindi.*

MS. no. 165.—A volume containing :—

(1) On fols. 1–14, a PRAŚASTI or Sanskrit poem by Maheśa son of Keśava on the exploits of Maharana Kumbhā of Mewar, etc. (with some lacunæ).

(2) On fols. 15–64, RĀJA-VILĀSA, a Hindi poem by Māna Kavi in 18 vilāsas on exploits of Mewar kings. With a note in Tod's writing, before page 1: "1st. Containing Mama Deo Ku Pursest 2d. Raj Bulass." Nineteenth century, early. Paper. 13½″ high × 9½″ wide. *Sanskrit & Hindi.*

MS. no. 166.—A volume containing SŪRYA-VAṂŚĀNUKĪRTTANA and CANDRA-VAṂŚĀNUKĪRTTANA, two tracts on the pedigrees of the legendary Solar and Lunar dynasties respectively. 40 fols. Copied in Udaipur by Pandit Gyāncandra in A.D. 1819. Paper. 6¾″ high × 4¾″ wide. *Sanskrit.*

MS. no. 167.—Part I of HAFT GULSHAN, a history of India by Muḥammad Hādī (Kāmvar Khān), translated from the original Persian into Rajasthani. 80 fols.; imperfect at end. Circa A.D. 1820. Paper. 8¾″ high × 6″ wide. *Rajasthani Hindi.*

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MS. no. 169.—PATVARDHAN-SARDĀRYĀ-CĀ ITIHĀS, a history of the Patwardhan Sardars, in Marathi (Modi script). Copied 1866. 67 fols. Paper. 12¾" high × 8" wide. Presented by Sir Bartle Frere. *Marathi.*

MS. no. 170.—A volume containing fair copies of miscellaneous historical materials—pedigrees, ballads, grants, prose statements, etc. On the flyleaf is written in Tod's hand the following: "No. 2 "Shunscrit Memoranda"." 69 fols. Paper. 13¼" high × 9½" wide. *Sanskrit & Hindi.*

MS. no. 171.—The Kanauj-khaṇḍ of PṚTHVĪRĀJA-RĀSAU, the epic ascribed to Cand Bardāī. Fols. 149 + 2. Appended is the Vīrabhadra-Pṛthvī-rāja-saṃvāda or °samaya, in a later hand. Copied in Samvat 1811 = Śaka 1676, Śrāvaṇa śukla 1, Saturday, by Vipra Rāmarāya at Niwai. Paper. 12½" high × 9" wide. *Hindi.*

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Demetrias in Sind

By W. W. TARN

IN April, 1939, Professor E. H. Johnston published an article in this *Journal*[1] in which he argued that there never was a Demetrias in Sind, and it is advisable to see what his evidence comes to. The new critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* which he cites shows that the name Dattāmitra in the epic is not that of the Yavana king, and it seems to follow that the existence of this Demetrias is no longer the certainty which historians have for some time taken it to be. But it is a long step from this to an assertion that Demetrias never existed; between absolute positive and absolute negative in history there often lie various degrees of probability, and in this case they require to be examined.

If there was such a Demetrias, it was among the Sauvīras. The two names, Sauvīras and Sindhus, are generally conjoined, sometimes forming one word; Lüders said they were always found together,[2] but Dr. Johnston has an instance (p. 229) of horses from the two peoples being distinguished. The exact analogy of the expression Sauvīra-Sindhus seems to be the expression "Austria-Hungary" to describe the former Hapsburg empire; in both cases, either part could be mentioned by its special name, but just as the word "Austria" was sometimes used to describe the whole empire, so, I apprehend, the word "Sauvīras" could be used to describe the Sauvīra-Sindhus. Dr. Johnston begins by laying down about the Sauvīras that "it is not a case of migration"; but it is just that which has to be examined. On pp. 227, 239, he puts the Sauvīras on the Indus north of Multan; the Sindhus, he suggests, were somewhere to the south of them (p. 228, if I have understood him correctly). Certainly the *Mahābhārata* appears to connect the Sauvīras with peoples

[1] "Demetrias in Sind?" *JRAS.*, 1939, p. 217.

[2] H. Lüders, *Berlin S B*, 1920, p. 56.

of the north, which means that there was a tradition that at some period they had been in the north; but the repetition of this tradition in the epic and later literature does not necessarily mean that the Sauvīras were on the upper Indus in the time of each several writer; it may, and probably does, mean that some Indian writers did exactly what Hellenistic writers were so fond of doing—quoting their predecessors without regard to the circumstances of their own day.

Let us begin with what we do know. The Rudradāman inscription from Junagadh of about A.D. 150[1] puts the Sauvīra-Sindhus about the Indus delta; I need hardly go through this, as Dr. Johnston admits (p. 229) that it puts the Sindhus on the sea-coast and the Sauvīras north of them. Rudradāman cannot be wrong about his own kingdom or conquests, and his list goes northward—Kathiawar and north Gujarat (Greek Surastrene), Cutch (Greek name lost), Sauvīra-Sindhus (Greek Patalene)—in the same order, but in the reverse direction, as the Greek conquest followed as shown by Apollodorus and Ptolemy.[2] Working backwards from A.D. 150, we find that the Sauvīras, if they had once been on the Indus north of Multan, were certainly not there in 325 B.C., because that is where Alexander found the Sibi; the Alexander-writers describe them as an important people with a splendid capital,[3] known from an inscription to have been at Shorkot.[4] Alexander certainly met no Sauvīras north of the Sibi; and if we follow him down the Indus, he met no people whose name could possibly conceal that of either Sauvīras or Sindhus till he came to Patala, at the apex of the then Indus delta. The Alexander-historians do not name the people of Patala, but furnish a most curious

[1] E. J. Rapson, "Coins of the Andhra Dynasty," *B.M. Coin Cat.*, 1908, pp. lx, cxix; Johnston, pp. 228 sqq.

[2] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1938, pp. 147 sqq., 233 sqq.

[3] References, Tarn, op. cit., p. 170.

[4] *Epig. Ind.*, xvi, pp. 15-17; see V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 97, n. 2.

statement about them: they had two kings belonging to two different houses, with separate succession, a state of things which is compared to the dual kingship at Sparta.[1] No Greek writer records such a phenomenon anywhere else in India; it means that two peoples had in some sense coalesced but had each retained its own line of kings and therefore presumably its identity. I think that no peoples in India of this period are known whose names are associated in such a way as to show that they could have coalesced on these lines except the Sauvīra-Sindhus; and the dual kingship at Patala, which has never been noticed, cannot be mere coincidence. The Sauvīra-Sindhus therefore were in Patalene in 325 B.C. precisely as they were c. A.D. 150; and therefore in between these dates. They were a people of some power[2]; for though they left their homes, both town and country, when they heard that Alexander was coming, and had to be reassured and brought back,[3] they subsequently threatened Nearchus so seriously that he had to put to sea a month before he meant to.[4]

Of the works which Dr. Johnston quotes on p. 230, the mention in the *Vimānavatthu*[5] of the Sindhusovīra country as a place to which merchants from Magadha go across the desert in search of merchandise agrees very well with Patala both as regards route and object, for merchants going that distance would certainly be seeking foreign goods; these, if they did not come by sea, would come in by the usual land-route Kapisa–Taxila–Pātaliputra, and merchants taking that

[1] Diodorus, xvii, 104, 2: *αὕτη* (Patala) *δὲ τὴν πολίτειαν εἶχε διατεταγμένην ὁμοίως τῇ Σπάρτῃ, ἀπὸ δύο γὰρ οἴκων ἐν αὐτῇ διεδέχοντο δύο βασιλεῖς.* To most of the original Greek sources, moreover, Patala is a plural name, *τὰ Πάταλα*: Arrian, vi, 17, 4 sqq. (Ptolemy or Aristobulus); ibid., vi, 21, 3 (Nearchus): Strabo, xv, 701 (probably Aristobulus but possibly Onesicritus).

[2] Patala is called *ἐπίσημος*, Diod., xvii, 104, 1, and *ἀξιόλογος*, Strabo, xv, 701.

[3] Arrian, vi, 17, 5–6.

[4] Nearchus in Strabo, xv, 721.

[5] A small work belonging to the latest strata of the Pali Canon: Winternitz, *Gesch. der indischen Literatur*, ii, p. 77.

route would neither cross the desert nor go anywhere near Dr. Johnston's location of the Sindhusovīra country. The passage in part II of the *Milindapañha* mentioning a sea-port Sovīra is said by Dr. Johnston to be a late Ceylonese addition; as I have not met this in any work I have been able to consult, I wish he had said if that is the general opinion to-day or a theory of his own. Finally he quotes Albiruni as representing "Hindu mediaeval tradition"; what he does represent is the last stage of what I noticed above, writers copying from one another without regard to changing circumstances.

If then the evidence be got into its proper historical perspective, it shows that in the second century B.C. the Sauvīra-Sindhus occupied the Indus delta, *i.e.* the Greek satrapy of Patalene (which probably covered more than the delta), precisely as I said; north of them was the Greek satrapy of Abiria (the Abhīras). I now turn to Dāttāmitrī, described as being a town among the Sauvīras.

On p. 239 Dr. Johnston sums up his discussion of this place under three heads: (1) the Sauvīra country was always on the Indus north of Multan (that I have dealt with); (2) if there had been a Demetrias on the coast of Sind (Patala was not on the coast, but let that pass; it *was* in Greek times a port for ocean-going ships) classical geographers must have mentioned it; (3) the name Dāttāmitrī *may* have been known to Pāṇini, and *if* so (my italics) it antedates any possibility of the name Demetrias.

To those who know the classical geographers, (2) is meaningless. There are Greek cities in the East, even important ones like Antioch in Persis, which are never mentioned in classical literature at all; but apart from this, Demetrias is an *official* name, and in the Farther East it is pure chance if Greek writers ever give the official name of a place; we are quite as likely to get it in Oriental literature.[1] I have dealt with

[1] Thus the official names of two important cities, Bactra and Prophthasia, are only known from Chinese sources.

this subject so fully elsewhere that I need not repeat,[1] but I might add one more instance: Polybius talks of Susa while, at the time he was writing, inscriptions show that the people there were calling it Seleuceia on the Eulaeus. In the same way Strabo always talks of Patala. Of the two other known cities called Demetrias, the name of that on the Oxus is only known from Tibetan,[2] and the name of that in Arachosia from the accident that Isidore of Charax was reproducing the official Parthian survey, which gave official names.

As to (3). The name Dāttāmitrī is not, I understand, given in Pāṇini but is given to illustrate a rule in Pāṇini in a commentary, the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, which is seventh century A.D.[3] I take it that a scholion on Pāṇini 1000 years after his day is like a Byzantine scholion on a classical Greek text: it may preserve old and valuable information handed down from one commentator to another, or it may be valueless, even perhaps the mere invention of a later day. Here apparently we do not know, and the scholion therefore cannot be taken to show that the name occurred in Pāṇini. Nor does Dr. Johnston claim this; he only (p. 224) says "may" and "if". The point need not be elaborated.

We are really thrown back on the mere name Dāttāmitrī, which occurs also in the inscription Nasik I, 18 (*below*). I take it from Dr. Johnston (p. 239) that the name Dattāmitra cannot be explained from Sanscrit (which means that it represents a foreign word), and that, philologically, the identifications Dattāmitra = Demetrius and Dāttāmitrī = Demetrias can neither be proved nor disproved. These identifications therefore, which many have accepted, are possible *if* other evidence points that way.

We can now see how we stand. The Sauvīras were certainly

[1] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 13–16.

[2] S. Lévi, *JA.*, 1933, p. 27, n. 1; Tarn, op. cit., 118 sq. See my forthcoming article "Tarmita" in *JHS.*, 1940.

[3] Winternitz, op. cit., iii, p. 393.

in Patalene when Alexander arrived; the Sauvīra capital at the time was Patala, which in the second century (as the two names show) became the capital of the Greek satrapy of Patalene. There is no sign in the Alexander-writers that, when Alexander reached Patala, the place was then a harbour town or received any shipping; and his intention to build dock-houses and make it a port, his principal port for the Indian ocean, is given as a new thing. He began the work (ἐποίει, imperfect) [1] and then handed it over to Hephaestion when he started homewards [2]; but as Hephaestion quickly rejoined him, we cannot say if the work was ever finished, and amid all our information as to his cities there is no indication that he made Patala a *polis*. But in the second century B.C. *the capital of the Patalene satrapy, i.e.* Patala, was a *polis*, for there was evidently a theatre there,[3] and this would imply a Greek dynastic name [4]; I may add that it was still the most important port in India for trade by sea with the west during Pliny's second stage, about 90–80 to about 60–50 B.C.[5] Now as it is certain that Demetrius was copying Alexander in every way,[6] it must have been due to him that Patala finally became not only a harbour-town but also a *polis* [7]; if so, it was in Hellenistic phraseology "founded" by him (a term which included re-founding or enlarging), and would therefore according to Hellenistic practice have had to be renamed; again that would imply

[1] Arr., vi, 18, 2.

[2] Ibid., vi, 20, 1.

[3] Tarn, op. cit., p. 94 and references.

[4] This follows from the principles worked out at length in chap. i of my *Bactria and India*. The dynastic names of most Greek *poleis* in India (Alexandria-Kapisa, Alexandria-Iomousa, Alexandria-Bucephala, Theophila) are known; the one exception, Pushkalāvatī, which Alexander did not make a *polis*, is due to it never being mentioned in subsequent Greek literature.

[5] Pliny, vi, 100; see Tarn, op. cit., pp. 368 sqq.

[6] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 131–2, 181, and *passim*. I could add a good deal now about ἀνίκητος.

[7] The only alternative as regards the port, the Sacas, did not create new *poleis*.

a dynastic name. As Demetrius had founded one name-city in his own hereditary kingdom, and another in his new conquests in Iran, he can hardly have failed to have founded one (at the least) in his new vast "conquests" in India; and certainly it was not his new capital Taxila, which was not a *polis*. On top of all this, among the Sauvīras, whose chief town Patala had been and was, we meet, in later tradition, a town-name Dāttāmitrī which is not Indian but foreign, and which *could* represent Demetrias. That is the historical position. It does not *prove* that Patala was named Demetrias or that there was a Demetrias in Sind; but it constitutes, to say the least, such an extremely strong presumption that one is both entitled and bound to follow it unless and until the contrary be proved. There is not likely ever to be absolute certainty unless an inscription giving the name be found *in situ*; and as nobody knows how the Indus then ran or where Patala stood, such a discovery is highly improbable.

I must notice the inscription Nasik i, 18, whose author, Indrāgnidatta, calls himself (in the genitive) otarāhasa Datāmitīyakasa. I was following Burgess,[1] who made the two words disjunctive and translated them "a native of the northern country and inhabitant of Damtāmitrī", *i.e.* the man had come from the north and settled in Demetrias. Dr. Johnston follows Senart,[2] who made the words conjunctive, "a northerner from Datāmitī"; I discarded this because it makes *otarāha* otiose and one cannot see why the word was inserted.[3] But on either view the man had come from somewhere to the northward of Nasik; and Dr. Johnston seeks to interpret "the north" by Indian "geographical lists", as additional evidence for his view that Dāttāmitrī was somewhere north of Multan. Why a trader should have his head full of literary "geographical lists" (is there one,

[1] *Archæological Survey of Western India*, iv, 1883, p. 114.

[2] *Epig. Ind.*, viii, 1905–6, p. 90, no. 18.

[3] Why Dr. Johnston (p. 235) says I overlooked the significance of *otarāha* I cannot think, seeing that I stressed it; see pp. 257 and 372 in my book.

by the way, as early as this ?) does not appear. He means what he says: his original home was to the north of Nasik. The inscription throws no light on the position of Datāmitī; but it certifies the name.

As to its date. Demetrias being no longer a certainty, I must treat my dating (which largely depended on that) as uncertain also [1]; but I doubt if Dr. Johnston's is in better case. He would date it in the latter part of the first century A.D. for palæographical reasons, saying that O. Stein so "gives" it; this is not what Stein said.[2] For palæographical dating to be certain a continuous flow of inscriptions is needed, as at Athens or Delos; this is hardly the case at Nasik, and the fewer the inscriptions the greater the margin of guesswork. When one reflects that dates ranging over two centuries have been, and are being, given for the famous Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela,[3] one may be excused some scepticism in the matter of dating Nasik i, no. 18, by palæography; the fairest view at present seems to be that it cannot be dated. But it remains true that in the middle of the first century B.C. there is a good reason for Indrāgnidatta and the other Yavanas having come to the Bombay hinterland,[4] while in the latter part of the first century A.D. no reason is apparent, and anyone holding this view must also adopt Stein's paradox that Yavana never means Greek.

That finishes Demetrias itself; but there are three other points in the paper which require notice. The first is the

[1] Also I did not know of the late instances of the use of Yonaka.

[2] O. Stein, *Indian Culture*, i, p. 351: "To the end of the first century A.D. *may* (my italics) belong Nasik, i, no. 18, as it shows palæographical forms like Usavadāta's Nasik, i, No. 11."

[3] Tarn, op. cit., p. 457 and references. Since then, a new publication of the text by B. M. Barua, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, xiv, 1938, p. 459, suggests that it is not earlier than the first century A.D.

[4] See my discussion of the pepper trade, op. cit., pp. 370–3. I put the beginning of the *substantial* export of Indian pepper not later than *c.* 100 B.C., and perhaps rather earlier. W. Otto, *Gesch. des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, 1938, p. 211, n. 3, would date it from the voyage of Eudoxus, 117 B.C.

word Dhammayavana,[1] which I showed meant that the man was a Greek citizen [2]; in treating the word as a descriptive epithet I was following Sylvain Lévi. Dr. Johnston makes it a proper name, as did O. Stein [3] and Burgess,[4] but, like Burgess, he makes two words of it, "Dhamma the Yavana." Certainly, though he gives no instance, it *is* now known that Dharma could be used as a proper name [5]; but in this case it is impossible, because (as Stein pointed out) the genitive would have to be Dhammasa Yavanasa; if it be a proper name, Stein's view that that name was Dhammayavana is the only possible one. It may turn out that a word is missing from the inscription, but the point I want to make meanwhile is this: Dr. Johnston thinks that to call Dhammayavana a proper name refutes my deduction that the man was a Greek citizen (which is what matters), whereas it makes not the least difference, as anyone can see if I translate the thing into Latin. Suppose that some Asiatic in the Roman empire, after Caracalla's edict, had named his son (pardon the absurdity) Jureromanus; the allusion in that proper name to Caracalla's edict would be exactly the same as if the word had been used as a descriptive epithet. Why Dr. Johnston (p. 237) should ascribe to me the foolish idea that the unknown Dhenukākatā was a Greek *polis* and this man its citizen I cannot guess, for I said plainly (p. 371) that all these Yavanas must be citizens of Demetrias or Theophila. Dhenukākatā in the inscription only means that the man had settled in that place.

The second point to notice is the word Yonaka. My problem was why Indian writers should have started using Yonaka in the Greek period when in the third century the form used had been Yona; the answer I am given is that my

[1] Karli, no. 10: Dhenukākatā Dhammayavanasa.
[2] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 255–7.
[3] Stein, op. cit., p. 347. So U. N. Goshal, *IHQ.*, xiv, 1938, p. 862.
[4] Burgess, op. cit., p. 91.
[5] See the Kalawān copperplate: Sten Konow, *JRAS.*, 1932, p. 949.

distinction is meaningless because it was a normal Indian usage to add *-ka* to an ethnic name.[1] Quite so. But the answer is only valid if that usage started *before* the Greek period; and both Dr. Johnston's instances may be later. Will not some Indian scholar give the date of the earliest known addition of *-ka* to the ethnic?[2] But quite apart from this is the much more important question: is there any known case of the occurrence of the form Yonaka before the Greek period, say before 180 B.C.? Again I am asking for information; I failed to find a case myself, and Dr. Johnston's instances from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. have no bearing on the matter. For the point is that, unless there be an instance before c. 180 B.C., then (even if it were already Indian usage to add on *-ka*) the addition of this particular *-ka* to Yona is almost bound to be due to the Greek form Ἰωνακός, *because* the same thing happened in Chinese: Wen-chung met the word Ἰωνακή (*i.e.* πόλις) and turned it into Jong-k'ü or Jong k'ut, which *is* Yonaka or Yonaki,[3] and he knew nothing about Indian philology. (The converse, a derivation of Ἰωνακός from Yonaka, is impossible, because Ἰωνακός was found in use, not only by Wen-chung in the Paropamisadae, but by one of Ptolemy's sources on the Persian Gulf). I hope some Indian scholar will give the information I am asking for, which I cannot get myself; it is important for the *Milindapañha*.

The last point is the reference in the *Milindapañha* to the Hellenistic type of city, which Dr. Johnston has not quite understood. He says (p. 236, n. 1) "showing that the author had in mind . . . a foursquare city of the Hellenistic type".

[1] Johnston, p. 236: Professor H. W. Bailey in a letter to me. Dr. Sten Konow also told me that he would not stress this form.

[2] It would be interesting to know if this Indian usage be connected with the usage in North Iranian languages of sometimes adding a *-k-* syllable, græcized as — κης, to proper names, as *e.g.* the Saca Mauos-Mauakes and the Parthian Phraates-Phraatakes.

[3] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 341, 418, and references; and for the sound p. 340, n. 4.

It is much more than that, as I thought I had made clear. Nāgasena says "It is like the case of the guardian of a city . . .", which is a *generalization*; it is not some particular city, but any city, all cities, the typical city; and the words that follow, so remarkably like Strabo's, show that he is asserting that in any city, in cities generally, you get the phenomenon which is peculiar to that special Hellenistic type so well known from Polybius, Strabo, and excavations, principally in Syria. Indian references to cities laid out in squares, or the very different arrangement in the *Arthaśāstra* (which is anyhow later), are I fear useless; very much later Indian theory, as I pointed out myself,[1] apparently knew of something which might be the Hellenistic arrangement, but that has no possible bearing on Nāgasena's generalization. That generalization is a *fact*, an awkward fact for which a reason has to be found; it was never made originally by any Indian, but by some one whose "spiritual home" was the Hellenistic West. There may perhaps be a better explanation of that fact than mine; but the fact itself is there, and cannot be explained away.

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NOTE ON THE ABOVE

I am grateful to the Society for letting me see the above paper before publication and giving me space for a few comments. Circumstances at the moment debar me from access to libraries; and, as it is also hard to answer briefly arguments depending on assumptions which appear to me unwarranted by the available evidence, this note may be found incomplete.

There are two questions in issue. Firstly, does the Greek evidence justify the conclusion that Demetrius founded a city

[1] I gave all that is necessary, op. cit., p. 419, n. 4. Whether the *Mānasāra* really alludes to the Hellenistic arrangement, as has been claimed, I do not know; but it is quite immaterial, as it is many centuries later than the Greek period or than the *Milindapañha*.

called by his name on the lower Indus? I am not competent to judge on this point, and my argument about the classical geographers' ignorance of such a town was based on what I understood, wrongly, to be Dr. Tarn's view; this being so, there seems to be no valid reason for misdating the Nasik inscription. Secondly, can the town known as Dāttāmitrī be identified with such a Demetrias? On that I see no reason to modify my opinion that the identification is impossible.

As regards the Sauvīras, I am unable to accept the findings either that they were certainly in Patalene, when Alexander arrived, or that Rudradāman's inscription proves them to have been on the seacoast in the second century A.D. The first point depends mainly on a dangerous argument *ex silentio* and on reading into the epic what is not there. It is not difficult to find other good reasons for the silence of the Alexander historians, and the epic merely authorizes us to hold that at some unspecified date a king of the Sindhus conquered the Sauvīras. Of the permanence or consequences of the conquest we know nothing; and if we are to proceed by way of surmise, we should follow what Indian history has to teach us about the normal results of such events, instead of assuming migration or amalgamation. Nor are we entitled to declare in the absence of other evidence that the geographical data of the epic belong to any particular period; some of it refers to a state of affairs that prevailed much later, and other parts to a region of prehistoric myth. Dr. Tarn's theory about Patala is, moreover, incompatible with the evidence of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, which shows that at a later date the Saindhava and Sauvīra countries were separate. Again Rudradāman's inscription, taken by itself, settles nothing; it does not show on the face of it whether Sindhu-Sauvīra [1] is to be taken as a compound or as two words. It is reasonable to take the view that it indicates

[1] Dr. Tarn talks of Sauvīra-Sindhu; except where metrical needs require this order, it is usually found as Sindhu-Sauvīra. In his analogy Sauvīra should be Hungary, not Austria.

a position for the country or countries in the lower valley of the Indus, but further clarification of the details depends on deductions from other evidence. I take the position that his first finding is only a conjecture, rendered improbable by our sources, and that his second goes beyond the evidence.

Materials are scanty for determining the position of the Ṣauvīra country, and they are wide apart in date. Excluding the various items which are inconclusive in themselves, we have only the epic, which, it is admitted, places them in the Panjāb, the indications of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, which gives a good deal of reliable detail mixed up with mythical items, and the positive statement of Albiruni, whose value on such a point is considerable; they agree in essence, and their view is consonant with the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, our only other certain source of knowledge. The presumption raised by this evidence, that no country other than a certain tract along the Indus in the lower Panjāb was ever known as the Sauvīra country, can only be rebutted by positive evidence to the contrary, not by conjecture. In fact, as might be expected, further ẹnquiry merely confirms the rightness of Professor Lüders' main conclusions.

Dr. Tarn has not grasped the full implication of my remarks on the grammatical evidence, and a few words will suffice for the Nasik inscription. We have a good supply of palæographical material for Western India at this period, but in any case it is useless to challenge the date on the ground of the uncertainty of such evidence, till Burgess is shown to have been wrong in assigning the cave to the same period as the Usabhadata group. And is Dr. Tarn right in thinking that Burgess meant his translation to give a different effect to that of Senart? I have not the volume by me, but, unless he expressly says that he understands the two words in question disjunctively, I should not infer it from his translation. India is a large country, and its peoples, like the characters in Synge's Irish plays, are singularly conscious of the points of the compass; it is natural, therefore, for a

stranger from a distant place to introduce himself as an Easterner, etc., from such and such a district or town. This explains also why the evidence of the geographical lists in the epics, Purāṇas and elsewhere is of value; it tells us exactly what such terms conveyed (and still convey) to the ordinary man.

Finally something should be said about the *Milindapañha*, for the history of whose text I accept in the main the results of Demiéville given in the important and scholarly paper quoted more than once by Dr. Tarn; but I was not justified in speaking of additions made in Ceylon, as we cannot be certain that they were not due to those Theravāda schools in Southern India, who from the Burmese archæological evidence appear to have used Pali.[1] So far as I know, no one has collected the materials for a full history of the termination *-ka* as used in Sanskrit and the Prakrits,[2] and for the reasons given above I cannot take the matter further here. But Dr. Tarn's arguments about the use of the term Yonaka rest upon an assumption with which I am unable to agree, namely that the work was originally written in Pali at a date not far removed from Menander. We are agreed that the work shows Greek influence, and it is difficult therefore to hold that it was written anywhere except in Northern India. But out of the many Buddhist remains that have come to light there and out of the works which were certainly written in that part, nothing in Pali has yet been found; so far as our information goes, it was only used in areas not directly subject to Greek influence. I do not see how the conclusion is to be avoided that the original was written in Sanskrit or in one

[1] This would possibly explain how Buddhaghoṣa came to use a different recension for part of the text.

[2] Writing from memory, I can only quote Edgerton on the *k*-suffixes of Indo-Iranian, in *JAOS.*, xxxi, which does not include classical Sanskrit, and Bloomfield on the diminutive pronouns of Jaina Sanskrit in *Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman.* Wackernagel's grammar only deals with it so far as affixed to compounds. See also Pischel ss. 598, and Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 164.

of the Prakrits used by the Northern sects; and like Trenckner I have for various reasons a preference for Sanskrit, while Finot and Demiéville, who suggest a Prakrit, seem to rely solely on Chinese transliterations, which in my view are best explained otherwise. A more definite conclusion would have been possible, had the author of the original part introduced doctrinal details which would enable us to allot him to a particular school.[1] If the original was in Sanskrit, the term Yonaka would hardly have been employed, but might have been in the case of a Prakrit. It is equally out of place to argue on the assumption that the date is known. The definite limits for the original are between Menander and about A.D. 200, but it is difficult to suppose it is near the latter. Given the language, arguments, and general conditions, I should be inclined to presume a date for the original composition about the beginning of our era, but should not regard that date, still less any other date, as a suitable basis for drawing far-reaching deductions. The lower limit for the Pali version is settled by Buddhaghoṣa's knowledge of the earlier portion of the work in its present form, and we have nothing from which to estimate how much older it is. Accordingly we cannot fix a date for the use of Yonaka in this work.

457. E. H. JOHNSTON.

[1] There is a passage (Demiéville, p. 130, n. 1) which is very closely related to the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and suggests a connection with the Sarvāstivādins, whose literature is in Sanskrit.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

TURKISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

I have already dealt with the subject of Turkish instruments of music in a rather lengthy study,[1] referring incidentally to the *Risālat al-fatḥīya fi'l-mūsīqī* of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḏhiqī, a *protégé* of the Sulṭan Bāyazīd II (1481–1512), which work contains some references to instruments of music.

This treatise has now been translated into French in the late Baron Rodolphe D'Erlanger's *La Musique arabe*, iv (1939), but readers will search in vain for Al-Lāḏhiqī's list of instruments of music to which I refer in my above-mentioned study. The circumstance calls for comment.

The translation is a most admirable one, and the Baron's assessors, in particular Sīdī Manūbī al-Sanūsī, deserve the highest commendation. In spite of this there is one great fault, and that is, only one manuscript, that of the Zaitūna Mosque at Tunis, was consulted. The fact is that there are two, if not three, versions of the *Fatḥīya*, a longer and a shorter version. There are, to my knowledge, at least six other manuscripts, viz., those of the British Museum (Or. 6629), the *Dār al-kutub* Cairo (*f.j.* 364), the *Nūr-i 'Uthmānīya* Stamboul (No. 3655), as well as those of the Library of the *Maulāwīkhāne Yenī Qapū* in Stamboul,[2] the Library of a mosque in Baghdād,[3] and another.[4] Had even the British Museum copy been consulted many a hiatus as well as doubtful readings would have been avoided.

A case in point is the section dealing with instruments of

[1] See "Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century", *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 1–44.

[2] Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, p. 2979.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, Nov.–Dec., 1904, p. 386.

[4] At Meshid. See Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, *Suppl.*, ii, p. 667.

music containing the passage to which I referred. In the French translation we have the following passage [1] :—

" Les instruments de musique sont en tout de deux genres : à cordes, et à vent. Parmi ces derniers, on compte parfois le gossier humain. Les espèces du premier genre bien connues de nos jours, sont au nombre de quatorze, et celle du deuxième genre, au nombre de six. L'énumération détaillée des espèces qui étaient en faveur à une époque autre que la nôtre, nous entraînerait à des longuers sans profit appréciable : nous n'en parlerons donc pas."

In the British Museum manuscript there is a much longer passage, including a list of these instruments which the author or editor of the shorter version, as exemplified in the Zaitūna Mosque MS., thought would be " unprofitable " to include. Here is the longer passage [2] :—

امّا الاصناف المشهورة للنوع الاوّل في زماننا هذا فاربعة عشر
صنفًا وهي عود قديم وعود كامل وعود اكمل وطنبور وقوپوز وقانون
ومغنى وچنك وكمانچة وششتا وروح افزاي وشتورغو [3] ورباب *
واما للنوع الثاني فستة انواع وهي صورنا [4] ونفير وناي وناي
عراقي وناى دياني [5] وارغنون [6] الخ.

" As for the best known kinds of the first species in our time, these are fourteen,[7] and they are,—the *'ūd qadīm*, and the *'ūd kāmil*, and the *'ūd akmal*, and the *ṭanbūr*, and the *qūpūz*, and the *qānūn*, and the *mughnī*, and the *chang*, and the *kamāncha*, and the *shashta*, and the *rūḥ afzā*, and the *shidirghū*, and the *rubāb*. And as for the second species,

[1] p. 414.

[2] fol. 61.

[3] Written شدرغو by Ibn Ghaibī. See my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, ii, p. 16.

[4] MS. has صورتا.

[5] MS. has دبابي.

[6] MS. has ارعنون.

[7] Only thirteen are enumerated in this list.

there are six kinds, and they are,—the *ṣurnā*, and the *nafīr*, and the *nāy*, and the *nāy 'irāqī*, and the *nāy diyānai*, and the *urghanūn*, etc."

A few lines subsequent to this he mentions two modern instruments, the *kāsāt* and the *qaṣ'āt*. The former certainly is not the *cymbals*, as the translator of Al-Lādhiqī suggests, since we know from Ibn Ghaibī that it was the *harmonica*.[1]

I have given the missing passage in full because, firstly, it is of importance that we should know which instruments were popular with the Turks at the close of the fifteenth century. Secondly, it was necessary to reaffirm my own statement that Al-Lādhiqī gave a list of these instruments in his *Fathīya*. Unfortunately, however, an annoying *lapsus* occurred in my reference to Al-Lādhiqī. I stated that Al-Lādhiqī registered *eighteen* instruments and Ḥājjī Khalīfa *nineteen* instruments. It should have read *nineteen* and *nineteen* respectively. For the sake of completeness therefore, I give the instruments which are registered by Ḥājjī Khalīfa, who lived a century and a half later.

The industrious Kātib Chelebī, in dealing with *The Art of [Constructing] Wonderful Instruments of Music*, says[2] :—

"This is the art which demonstrates how to produce and construct them [*i.e.* instruments of music], such as the *'ūd*, and the *mazāmīr*, and the *qānūn*, but especially the *urghanūn*. . . . And of [other] species of these instruments are the *kūs*, and the *ṭabl*, and the *naqqāra*, and the *dā'ira*. And of the wind (*mazāmīr*) species are,—the *nāy*, and the *sūrnā*, and the *nafīr*, and the *mithqāl*, and the *qawāl*, and an instrument called the *būrī*, and the *dūdūk*. And the string species are,—the *ṭanbūr*, and the *shashtār*, and the *rabāb*, and an instrument called the *qupūz*, and the *chang*, etc."[3]

Al-Lādhiqī himself only describes three lutes, the ancient lute (*'ūd qadīm*), the perfect lute (*'ūd kāmil*), and the super-

[1] *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodleian MS., *Marsh*, 282, fol. 80, v.
[2] *Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum*, i, 399–400.
[3] The spelling of some of these names differs from that of Al-Lādhiqī.

perfect lute (*'ūd akmal*). These were strung in fourths, with four, five, and six strings respectively, possibly bicordal. He attributes, following Ibn Ghaibī perhaps,[1] the perfect lute of five strings to Al-Fārābī (d. *ca.* 950), but this was known a century earlier. He also describes instruments of two and three strings, *i.e.* the pandore (*ṭanbūr*) type, but he does not name them.

The remaining instruments have been described by me in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*,[2] *Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century*, and elsewhere.

459. H. G. FARMER.

WHERE WAS "BLACK WALLACHIA" IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY?

Rešid-ed-din, in his well-known description of the Mongol invasion of Central Europe, writes:—

"In the spring of 1240 (*recte* 1241) the princes crossed the mountains and entered the countries of the Bular and the Bashgirds. Orda, who marched on the right flank, traversed the country of Ilaut and vanquished Bezerenbam, who had ventured to oppose the Mongol army. Kadan and Buri entered the country of the Sassans and defeated them in three battles. Budjec traversed the mountains of this country and entered the Kara-Ulag, vanquished the people of the Ulag, crossed the mountains and invaded the country of Mišeslav, where he defeated the enemy, who was awaiting him. The princes then marched by five routes on the countries of the Bashgirds, Madjars and Sassans."

Although this account is vague, it undoubtedly has some basis of truth. Rogerius[3] confirms that Cadan was in Transylvania, so we may perhaps accept Bretschneider's[4]

[1] *Sharḥ al-adwār*, Nūr-i 'Uthmānīya MS., No. 3651, fol. 1, v.

[2] *S. v.* Būq, Duff, Kitāra, Mi'zaf, Mizmār, Rabāb, Ṣanj, Ṭabl, Ṭunbūr, 'Ūd, and Urghan.

[3] Rogerius, *Carmen Miserabile*, c. 20.

[4] *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 329–330.

identification of the "Sassans" with the Saxons of Transy vania. Prokesh-Osten's identification of Ilaut with Lithuania is plausible enough. If Buri was in Transylvania, whic again seems plausible,[2] this accounts for three of Rešid-ed-din four names.

But where was Budjec's army? Prokesch-Osten, who most modern historians follow, identifies the "Kara Ulag or "Black Vlachs" with the then inhabitants of Wallachi so called by contrast with the Vlachs proper, under whom understands the inhabitants of the Bulgaro-Vlach, or Secor Bulgar kingdom south of the Danube. He therefore trac for Budjec a route through Wallachia, and up through t Rotenturmpass, and credits him with the storming Hermannstadt, which took place on 11th April, 1241.[3]

There are, however, certain considerable difficulties. Firstl another Mongol army, that of Baghatur, was operating this neighbourhood. This army defeated a Saxon force the Burzenland on 31st March and took Kokelburg on 4t April,[4] and it is far more natural to suppose that it passe on thence to Hermannstadt. Rogerius describes this force having passed through the lands of the Bishop of Cumania a remark which Prokesch-Osten himself interprets as referrir to Moldavia.[5] There is no need to find any other explanatic for the reference in a deed of Béla IV's to the lands of tl Cumans and Bulgars,[7] which he quotes in support of his ov theory.

Secondly, this theory makes Rešid-ed-din omit all mentio of the central force and main body of the Mongols, whic

[1] *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa*, p. 43.

[2] Ruysbrock in 1254 found "Saxon" slaves in Central Asia who we "Servi Burii", *Receuil de Voyages*, iv, 280.

[3] *MGSS.*, xxiv, p. 65.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Rogerius, loc. cit.

[6] Op. cit., p. 96.

[7] Fejér, *Cod. Dipl.*, iv, 2,221. In confinio Cumanorum ultra Danubiu et Bulgarorum, per quem etiam locum tempore invasionis regni nos ad nos aditum habuit exercitus Thartarorum.

passed through Galicia and Silesia; and most important of all, it leaves unexplained the name of Mišeslav. Who was Mišeslav? We can by no means find any person of the name in Transylvania or Wallachia at this date. The only person of the name who figures in the whole story is Mieczyslav, Duke of Oppeln, who was present at the Battle of Liegnitz.[1] Surely, then, it is to this individual that the Persian report must refer, and we must in this case place "Black Wallachia" in Moldavia or even East Galicia.

462. C. A. MACARTNEY.

MARCO POLO

It is always an unpleasant task for an author to have to reply to a reviewer, and I fully understand why Mr. Moule remains silent about Professor Benedetto's review of vols. i and ii of our Marco Polo, published in this *Journal* for 1939, pp. 628–644. But since these two volumes do not fall within my share of the common work, I am more at liberty to state that, in my opinion, Benedetto has not done them justice. In such a long review, written by a specialist on Marco Polo, one might have expected to find some positive contribution to the elucidation of most of the problems, but there is none. Minor errors of decipherment or translation are denounced; such are unavoidable, and there are, indeed, quite as many in Benedetto's own decipherment of F as well as in his translation: as, for instance, in his Italian translation (*Marco Polo*, 140), "camucca", i.e. silk damask, while the text rightly has *camut*, "shagreen", or (p. 123) "polvere di lapislazzuli", "powder of lapis lazuli", though there is no "powder" in the text. In both cases Benedetto might have noted in his review that, on the contrary, Moule's version is quite correct.

But what is most unfair, is to say (p. 630) that the publication of the Toledo MS. (our vol. ii) was not needed, because, forsooth, he had already made use of the late Milan copy

[1] Dlugosz, *Hist. Pol.*, p. 676.

of that MS., and had corrected the mistakes of the said copy. First of all, Benedetto has given only extracts from the Milan copy, and the complete text is, therefore, most welcome to scholars; and, moreover, Benedetto's emendations are neither complete nor always happy. I cannot now enlarge on the discrepancies, but shall take one line as an example. In Benedetto's *Milione*, p. 196, l. 21, of the note (corresponding to our vol. ii, p. lxxviii, ll. 18–19), Toledo and Milan correctly give *pluries*, but Benedetto has adopted *prelium*; Toledo correctly gives *ffit* (= *fit*), but Milan *esset*, which Benedetto has retained; Toledo correctly gives *personam*, but Milan *prelium*, which Benedetto has also retained. That Benedetto should particularly appreciate his own publication, most valuable indeed, is only natural; but that innate feeling ought not to be turned into a disparaging judgment of the efforts of others.

P. PELLIOT.

[The subject is now closed.—ED.]

467.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Précis de la Numismatique Géorgienne. By J. Karst. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. Fascicule 81. 10 × 6½, pp. 94, pls. 10. Paris, 1938. Fs. 60.

This work was originally intended to form part of Professor Karst's monumental edition of the text and translation of *The Georgian Code of Laws*, now in course of publication, but he has done well to issue it earlier, as a worthy successor to the compilations of Barataïeff, Brosset, Langlois, Bartholomaei, and others. The Georgian nation survived as the only independent Christian state in the Near East till the beginning of the nineteenth century, though from 1455 it had been broken up into three autonomous kingdoms, and even after the Russian occupation the coinage for a time continued to be Georgian. A special feature of Georgian numismatics is its hybrid character, due to political dependence at various periods on Byzantium, Persia, the Caliphate, etc., and even during the Golden Age (eleventh-thirteenth centuries) of complete freedom bilingual inscriptions persisted.

In a supplement (pp. 61–78) there is a very useful historical account of Georgian weights and measures of solids and liquids with an alphabetical list of the terms used. All the authorities, including Professor Iv. Djavakhishvili's important dissertation on metrology (published in Georgian in 1924–5), have been studiously assimilated and compared.

Professor Karst and the University of Strasbourg are to be congratulated on the appearance of this well printed and clearly written little book, which will fill a worthy place in the library of every numismatist and every historian of the Near East.

B, 363. O. Wardrop.

La Phénice et l'Asie Occidentale (des Origines à la Conquête macédonienne). By Raymond Weill. Collection Armand Colin, No. 221. 6¾ × 4½, pp. 204 + 15. Paris: Librarie Armand Colin, 1939.

This is an admirable summary of recent research, in the best sense popular, for it gives clearly what the ordinary man needs to know, warns him of the obscurities and controversies, and refers him to the best original writers for further detail and remoter issues. The geographical position of the Phœnician cities forced them to be witnesses, and often sharers, of all the principal crises of the history of Western Asia, and it has not been easy to write Phœnician history without writing much about Egypt and Babylonia, Assyria, and the Hittites. But the perspective is here admirably maintained, and it is the Phœnician cities which are in the centre of the stage throughout. Naturally, full use is made of the archæological discoveries of the French Mission at Byblos, and other Syrian sites: there might, however, have been a chapter on the contributions of Phœnician workshops to art and industry—difficult as this is to explain without illustrations. But M. Weill confines himself to history; even the supreme achievement of alphabetic writing is presented as the characteristic outcome of a historical period of unusual respite from external stresses for the whole Syrian region, within which the Phœnician cities were central and reached their greatest prosperity. In such circumstances the simple but epoch-making discovery, that signs could be devised to represent mere sounds, not words or verbal elements, could be propagated and adapted to local uses whether the users were themselves previously acquainted with Egyptian or Babylonian or Hittite systems of writing. From this point of view the whole problem is greatly simplified; and not least in regard to the relations of the dominant script of Phœnicia itself to its western counterparts in Greek lands and western Asia Minor.

In the later periods, and western regions, M. Weill is on less

sure ground than on the mainland of Western Asia. He relies more than has been usual in recent years on Greek beliefs and speculations about Phœnician colonies, describing as Phœnician settlements, Ialysus and Camirus in Rhodes, and even Massalia. Some of his western etymologies are rather bold, though he is probably right in attributing wide western activities to the Sea Raiders of the thirteenth century; and he has some curious views on the early history of coinage, But the book is quite the best recent survey, on a small scale. of the larger movements and situations of the Nearer East.

B. 432. JOHN L. MYRES.

Far East

SOME UNDESCRIBED LANGUAGES OF LUZON. By M. VANOVERBERGH. Publication d'Enquête Linguistique, Vol. iii. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 200, maps 2. Nijinegen: Dekker and van de Vegt, N.V., 1937.

A linguistic study of several Negrito tribes who, their original language lost, use Indonesian vocabularies, mainly Ibanag and Isneg, borrowed from the Filipinos they first met. "Every Negrito speaks at least two languages, very often three and sometimes more." The work is of the quality to be expected from one sponsored by the Rev. Father W. Schmidt.

B. 517. R. O. WINSTEDT.

BULLETIN OF THE COLONIAL INSTITUTE OF AMSTERDAM, Vol. II, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 (1939). Published in collaboration with the Netherlands Pacific Institute. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. iv + 329, pls. 4, maps 3. Amsterdam, 1939.

While most of the articles deal with modern practical problems of agriculture, fisheries, public health, etc., there are articles useful to historians, e.g. "The Educational System in the Netherlands Indies", by the Director of the Institute

(formerly Director of Education for the Netherlands Indies, and recently Minister of Education, Holland), Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, and the " Administrative System of the Netherlands Indies ", by Dr. J. J. Schrieke, and careful reviews by Dr. N. J. Krom of de Klerck's *History of the Netherlands Indies*, and by Dr. H. Welstra of Rupert Emerson's *Malaysia*. Nearly all the articles are in English.

B. 486. R. O. WINSTEDT.

Middle East

THREE PERSIAN DIALECTS. By ANN K. S. LAMBTON. R.A.S. Forlong Fund, Vol. XVII. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 92. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.

The dialects studied by Miss Lambton during a year recently spent in Persia belong to the central Iranian group, which territorially corresponds more or less with ancient Media. Two of them are spoken in the villages of Jawshaqān and Meime, south of Kāshān, while the third takes its name from Velātrū in the Elburz mountains. Miss Lambton's method of presenting the information she has gathered is thoroughly scientific, and it may be remarked that she writes as well as she observes: it is a pleasure to read her description of these hamlets, their local government, customs, industries, and other interesting details of the life led by their inhabitants. For the Jawshaqānī and Meime'ī dialects, we are given not only texts (prose and verse) with translations and vocabularies, but a systematic view of the phonetics and grammar; in the case of Velātrū a five days' visit produced results which, though less full, surpass what might have been expected. Among many features inherited from older stages of the language and still preserved in the *patois*, none is more curious than the very free way in which enclitic pronouns are used as elements in the formation of tenses of the verb. Apart from archaisms like *girift-ash yakī sang* " he seized a stone "

(Firdausī), examples in "classical" Persian are confined, so far as I know, to some old MSS. of 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkiratu 'l-awliyā* (see my edition, vol. ii, p. 7), where forms of the type *kardatī*, *kardamānī*, and *kardatānī* (past conditional) occur frequently. The glossaries provide much etymological information concerning the words listed. *Kəpak* "dog" (p. 89) is certainly Turkish, and it seems possible that *kɯdʒə* "girl" (ibid.) represents T. قیز or قز. I have noticed only one mistake in transliteration: *mu'ārif* for *ma'ārif* (pp. 2 and 4). There can be no doubt that critics more familiar with the subject will join me in congratulating Miss Lambton on the first-fruits of her Iranian studies.

B. 229. R. A. NICHOLSON.

ALTPERSISCHE INSCHRIFTEN. By ERNST HERZFELD. Erster Ergänzungsband zu den Archæologischen Mitteilungen aus Iran. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xvi + 384, pls. 29. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1938.

Students both of Old Persian and of ancient history owe an immense debt to Professor Herzfeld. The nine volumes of the *Archæologische Mitteilungen* alone bear witness to his unflagging energy and vast erudition. The present volume is the first complementary volume to that monumental work. By bringing together all the major inscriptions brought to light since the publication of Tolman's collection Professor Herzfeld has rendered a signal service to Iranists. The text—Persian, Elamite, and Accadian—is given in transliteration, and for the Persian versions there are both unvocalized and vocalized renderings. Further there are sixteen excellent plates and reproductions on the page of the original cuneiform. The texts themselves occupy only fifty pages, the remainder of the book being devoted entirely to a very ample commentary and a short index. It would perhaps have made for greater clarity if the Iranian section of the index had

been subdivided into the different strata and dialects of Iranian speech.

The commentary itself, following an alphabetical order, passes in review such words in the inscriptions as call for elucidation. Some of the ground had already been covered in the *Archæologische Mitteilungen*; much is added in the present volume. In the field of Old Persian studies, perhaps more than in any other, it would be futile to expect unanimity, for on every major problem opinions remain sharply and irreconcilably divided. On the subject of the religion of Darius, for instance, there still seems little hope of a *rapprochement* between the warring parties. In this book the author, fortified by the Tomb Inscription and the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, once more takes up the cudgels for Darius, the Zoroastrian Nautara. By comparison of passages from the inscriptions with the Gāθas he seeks to prove identity of outlook (cf. pp. 104, 138, 141). Sometimes these equations are telling: but often one is left with the impression that facts are being forced into the service of a hard and fast theory and are being distorted in the process. The present state of our evidence hardly permits of dogmatic conclusions. The whole article on *ārvastam* reposes on the most precarious of foundations. The equation of Gāθ. OP. *χratuš*, *χraθuš*, and MParth. *bām*, Soghd. *farn* is astonishing. Hardly less so is that of OP. *ārᵘvasta*, Gāθ. *vahumanah*, MParth. Soghd. *manuhmēδ* (p. 85). If Darius uses the word *ārᵘvasta* on his tomb to indicate *vahumanah*, we might reasonably expect him, on Professor Herzfeld's premisses, to call himself *Dārayār-vasta* rather than the ambiguous *Dāraya-vahu-*<*manō*>. The word is more probably connected with Av. *aurvant-*, Skt. *árvant-* "swift", with secondary meaning "agile" whence Arm. *arvest* "skill, τέχνη", translating also Gk. τέρατα (John, 4, 48, v. Nyberg, *Religionen des alten Irans*, p. 351).

There are many other points in which this reviewer regretfully finds it difficult to follow Professor Herzfeld.

His interpretation of [illegible] as a "sigle" for *āhrīy* is not convincing. The spelling of *Ōhrmazd* [illegible] is scarcely parallel: that in itself is no more surprising than the spellings of, e.g., *yazdān*, *yut*, *yuvān*, *kuhan*, [illegible] = *dēs* or [illegible] = *dēsak* (e.g. Dd. 36. 14 : DkM. 379. 6, 12 ; 384. 5 ; 393. 5 ; 420. 20), whereas [illegible] = *āhrīy* is a remarkably uncompromising mask. A few suggestions may be made here for certain words the author leaves doubtful. On p. 92 for GrBd. 11. 11, . . . *star i tam aržānīk, āturastar*, "ash" should be read, not *ātur dastr* (Nyberg) or *χrafstar* (Herzfeld), cf. Zāds. 1. 29 in *BSOS.*, ix, pp. 576, 584. On p. 97 [illegible] is probably *nivand*, "beginning," cf. MPT. *nwyst*: p. 153 [illegible] *čihišnān*, "decisions": for *nē vinast u čārak*, cited pp. 197, 261, 269, read *nē vindāt čārak* with the facsimile and the unpublished text, "found no remedy." The passages cited for *čārak*, "Vergeltung" are not convincing. p. 198 [illegible] cannot be read as *čārīk*, nor can I see that the spellings of *jovbān* (read *yuvān* as in *yut* and [illegible] = *davīt*) and *kārēčār* are parallel. p. 302 for MāhFrav. § 35 (misprinted 34) [illegible] read *hunušakān*, Pahl. tr. to Av. *hunav-*.

On p. 361 Nyberg's *vyāstakīh* is quoted with approval, but *viškītakīh* must be read with the MSS., a word well attested elsewhere, v. *BSOS.*, ix, p. 318.

There is still much that might be discussed in this interesting and instructive book, but the reviewer feels that such discussion will be more proper in an article. Circumstances made the correction of proofs exceptionally difficult for the author: it was therefore inevitable that some misprints should have crept into the text. The following have been noted: on p. 186 for Mir.Man. iii, 2, 12, read Mir.Man. iii e, 12 ; p. 189 for JAs. 1934, read JRAS., 1934 ; p. 206 for Mir.Man. iii c, 27, read Mir.Man. III e, 27 ; p. 226 for Gr.Bdh. 88. 5 ss., read Gr.Bdh. 89. 6 ss. ; on the same page *vispurt* is mentioned

as occurring in Gr.Bdh., p. 91; the Anklesaria text has *'ō vazr* (sc. *varz*) *'aβgand*; on p. 302, for Māh.Frav. 34, read Māh.Frav. 35.

In spite or rather because of so much controversial matter this first complementary volume to the *Archæologische Mitteilungen* is most stimulating. The author sometimes tends to spoil a legitimate point by pressing it too far, but he is never dull and always informative. We are grateful for this first *Ergänzungsband*, and look forward with pleasure to another.

B. 221. R. C. ZAEHNER.

DIE RELIGIONEN DES ALTEN IRAN. By H. S. NYBERG. Deutsch von H. H. SCHAEDER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 506. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-Ægyptischen Gesellschaft, Bd. 43. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1938.

It would perhaps be unjust to compare Professor Nyberg to Nietzsche, but in his latest production he has done for Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism what Nietzsche did for philosophy; he has evolved a "Versuch einer Umwertung aller Werte". This is in no way an exaggeration: a wholly new theory is here put forward totally at variance with ideas hitherto entertained about the significance of the Gāθas. As a background to these Nyberg sees a mighty battle between the Mithra community and that of the Mazda-worshipping community of Zoroaster: with Mithra and his attendant deities he deals first, and comes to the notable conclusion that Sraoša, so far from being a Zoroastrian deity that had taken on some of the attributes of Mithra, is nothing less than the Mithra community personified. But it is only when we come to the teachings of Zoroaster that we see how wide is the divergence of his views from those of his predecessors. We learn with surprise that the two cardinal facts of the Gāθa community were ordeal and ecstasy; we even learn that *χšaθra* in certain circumstances means

"ordeal", and that the epithet *vairya-* is to be connected with *var-* "ordeal"; but for so radical a view the actual evidence produced is far too scanty. The author's ecstasy theory is developed at great length, and is founded on the following hypotheses (i) that in Y. 30. 3, *χvafənā* means "sleep (and its opposite)", viz. "wakefulness", and that (ii) *maga-* represents the fellowship of those initiated into the mysteries. The argument for this *maga* theory is developed at great length, the word itself being identified with YAv. *maγa-* "enclosure". This is indeed most reasonable, but after this the argumentation moves by leaps and bounds, and on p. 176 we find that it is not to be doubted that *maga-* comes from the stem **magh-*, **mangh-* "to sing magic songs". In fact the Gāθa community was Shamanistic, and procured their ecstasy by means of hemp and sitting in vapour (*Dampf*, translating *ąnman-*, pp. 175, 177). For belief in this use of hemp in the Gāθa community there seems no other evidence but the occurrence of a proper name *Pouru-baŋha* in Yt. 19 and the author's plausible interpretation of the name *Būšyąstā*. In the Pahlavī books Artāy Vīrāz takes hemp to induce a vision, and Ohrmazd administers it as a narcotic to Gayōmart, but such late evidence can scarcely be used in interpreting the Gāθas. The whole theory is based on the author's own interpretations of words that many of us will find hard to accept.

Chapter V brings us further surprises. The comparatively peaceful community of Mazda worshipping shamanists comes into contact with another ecstatic cult, the Haoma drinking, cattle slaughtering adepts of Mithra, the mighty god of the night sky. Zoroaster, so far from being a reformer, endeavours to preserve the old religion from contamination with the imported variety, but the situation becomes so tense that he is forced to flee to Vištāspa. The author then tries to prove that Vištāspa was himself a devotee of Mithra, but that he nevertheless allowed the prophet to remain and continue his missionary activity. This is deduced from some slight

verbal resemblances between the Mithra Yašt and the later Gāθas. Syncretism rapidly takes place between the opposing religions, the result of which is Zoroastrianism. It is only possible here to give a very brief outline of Professor Nyberg's theories, and justice cannot be done them in so limited a space; but it must in honesty be emphasized that the bulk of the theories here proposed rest on an altogether too exiguous basis of fact. The evidence produced on p. 59 is quite insufficient to prove that Mithra was essentially the god of the night sky; it only proves that he had jurisdiction over the night as well as the day. His connection with the day sky is attested in all our sources.

The remainder of the book deals with the religious situation in Western Īrān, the Achæmenid Empire, and finally brings us down to the Sāsānian Empire. Let it be said in conclusion that this is a work of the highest importance, and that the interest of even the lay reader will be held right up to the end. We also owe a great debt to Professor Schaeder for making it accessible to those who are unacquainted with Swedish through his masterly German translation.

B. 249. R. C. ZAEHNER.

THE WILD RUE: A study of Muhammadan Magic and Folk-lore in Iran. By BESS ALLEN DONALDSON. London: Luzac & Co. Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

This collection of Muslim beliefs, legends, and magic in Īrān is the more valuable because the policy of intensive Westernization which prevails in Īrān and other countries of the Near and Middle East must inevitably drive still deeper underground, if it cannot ever destroy, ancient habits of thought and inherited customs and beliefs. These successfully survived the puritanism of Islam and may yet outlive the advent of such innovations as hats, aeroplanes, cinemas, and wireless. In the large towns they may wilt, and almost wither, but in the village and small town it is safe to prophesy

that they will endure for some while yet, perhaps long enough for educated Iranians to perceive the value of such research instead of regarding it as a source of shame.

Many of the practices, legends, and so forth described and related by the authoress are equally prevalent in 'Irāq, especially in the holy cities of Najaf, Karbala, Samarra, and Kadhimain, and the reviewer could supplement many notes, amplifying statements about such events as birth, death, the magical protection of brides and women in childbed, and here gratefully acknowledges much that is helpful to research along similar lines in the sister country. This is not surprising as the population of the holy cities of 'Irāq is largely Īrānian, and the bulk of the population throughout the country is Shi'ite and not Sunni.

There is, however, other common ground, in that many of the most interesting seasonal observances and much of the magic connected with women, is clearly Magian and not Muslim at all. Islam attached orthodox interpretations and furnished explanatory Muslim legends to all these irradicable rites just as the early Christian church took over and incorporated into the new fabric of Christianity the pagan seasonal celebrations and observances which it was powerless to abolish. Traces of Magian and Babylonian belief survive in 'Irāq not only amongst Muslims, but amongst Nestorians, Jews, Armenians, Yazīdīs, and Mandæans, and one cannot help wishing that the scope of the book had been enlarged so as to include the Zoroastrians and Jews of Īrān as well as the Muslims, as practices common to all have just enough difference to throw light on the probable origin.

It is, indeed, the fine differences which exist between similar magical customs which tell us most. The dreaded Āl, the female demon which attacks pregnant and child-bearing women, for instance, described in the chapter on birth, is paralleled by the much-feared Qarīna in 'Irāq. Now many details of magic performed to circumvent this demon in 'Irāq point to the Qarīna being the mysterious double of

the woman, or of her husband, both being female, and also indicate that this double is a spirit associated from birth with the placenta. The author does not mention any practice connected with the placenta, but she does relate beliefs connected with the *ham-zād*, a Doppelgänger born with the person and his or her invisible companion throughout life. Supposing that the Āl proves to be an entirely national demon, I fancy that if the authoress made more inquiry, she would find dread of the *ham-zād* was responsible for some of the precautions taken at birth to protect mother and infant, also for some of those which avert evil from the bride.

B. 253. E. S. Drower.

India

Samarāicca-Kahā, of Haribhadra Sūri, Book I. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Sanskrit Tippani, by M. C. Modi. Prakrit Granth-Mālā, No. 7. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$. Vol. I, First Two Chapters: pp. xlxiv + 158 + 174, 1935. Vol. II, Sixth Chapter: pp. 31 + 63 + 126 + 148, 1936. Ahmedabad: Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya.

The *Samarāicca-kahā* is one of the best productions of Jain narrative literature in Māhārāṣṭrī. Written for the most part in an easy and clear style, it is admirably suited to the use of students. The full text was critically edited by the late Professor Jacobi in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but his promised glossary did not appear. The present two volumes, therefore, containing the text of three out of the nine chapters with translation, vocabularies, etc., serve a useful purpose. The text is to all intents and purposes the same as Jacobi's, emended occasionally with the help of an additional MS. In addition the editor has provided an introduction dealing with the life of Haribhadra, etc., an English translation, Sanskrit interpretations at the foot of the page in the case of the more difficult phrases, notes in English, and a select vocabulary.

No attempt has been made by the editor at any philologica treatment of the language on modern lines. This would have been desirable, and very useful to students for whom the books are intended. Since, however, it is beyond the scope of his purpose, we will not criticize its omission. He contents himself with giving the meanings of the words with a reference to the Sanskrit original purely from a practical point of view. Under such circumstances one need not complain very much if he provides only the traditional interpretation of a word in cases where modern scholarship might have something different to say, e.g. in the case of *uvavāa*, *pāraddhi*, etc. Likewise it is not of great import if he quotes a Sanskrit form that is not so near the Prakrit form in question as another he might have quoted. He refers, e.g., *bujjhaï* to *bodhati* and not *budhyate*, *bhalla* to *bhallūka* and not *bhalla*, *sarīsiva* to *sarisarpa* and not *sarīsṛpa*, *āvāyaṇa* to *āpānaka*, when it is actually from the caus. *ā-pāy-*, etc.

There are, however, other errors which are not so easily excused. Thus he classes as "*Deśī*" words which are quite clearly of Skt. origin; e.g., *aṇorapāra*, *aṇhāṇa*, *avaḍa*, *niyaraṇa*, *ugghāa*, *kalila*, *kuttaṇa*, *civiḍa*, *paḍavāsa*. On the other hand, in the case of some words he invents Skt. words to account for them, e.g. *kuḍa* "wall" [**kuḍaka*], *ālova* "canopy" [**āloca*], *pisuyā* "kind of worm" [**piśukā*], *nikāīya* "thick" [**nikācita*]. Wrong Skt. forms are given in a number of cases; e.g. *pīḍhasappī* [*pīṭhasarpin*] is said to be *pṛṣṭhasarpin*, *biuṇa* [*dviguṇa*] is given as *viguṇa*, *sandāmiya* "tied" [denom. from *saṃ* + *dāma* "bond"] is referred to *sandānta*, *ukkosia* "raised" [cf. Pisch, § 112] is said to be *utkrośika*; *saṃpāḍ* is by some mysterious means derived from *sam* + *pra* + *āp*; *nivanna* [*nipanna*] is said to be *niṣanna*, etc. Worse still are a number of mistakes on the level of schoolboy blunders: *jāi* (vol. i, p. 37, l. 22) which = *yāti* is said to be *jāyate*; *ūruyā* (vol. ii, p. 82, l. 18) which = "thighs" (*ūru-*) is rendered "chest" (*uras-*), etc.

More examples could be quoted, and they disfigure a work

which otherwise serves a very useful purpose. The chief cause is obviously the careless and slipshod way in which the editor has gone to work. The work has been hastily produced, and the mistakes with which it abounds could easily have been avoided with more care. If a second edition is called for, the author would be well advised to take himself in hand in a serious attempt to remove them.

B. 66. T. BURROW.

THE VOYAGE OF NICHOLAS DOWNTON TO THE EAST INDIES, 1614–15, as Recorded in Contemporary Narratives and Letters. Edited by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER. 9 × 6, pp. xxxvii + 224, ills. 5, maps 3. The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, lxxxii. London: printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1939.

The voyage which is the subject of this volume is chiefly memorable for the defeat of the Portuguese Viceroy's fleet off Swally in January, 1615. This victory, following that of Best gained over the Portuguese in the same locality some two years earlier, helped materially to establish the prestige of our arms in the eyes of the Mughal authorities, and to pave the way for Sir Thomas Roe's lengthy negotiations that commenced at the end of the year. Downton's original journal, apparently comprising two volumes, has disappeared. Purchas published considerable extracts from the first volume, and it is these that have been reprinted together with other documents relating to the events of the time, including extracts from the journals of other officers of the fleet, the journal of Edward Dodsworth, a factor who sailed with Downton, and a lively account of his experiences in India published about twenty years later by Christopher Farewell, another factor who accompanied Downton.

Hitherto little or nothing was known of Downton prior to his employment in 1610 by the E.I. Company as second in command to Sir H. Middleton on the Sixth Voyage, but by

following up a clue furnished by his will, Sir W. Foster has been able to throw light on his parentage and birth. He appears at least to have had previous seafaring experience on an expedition to the Azores in 1594 and to ports in the Caribbean Sea in 1605. The opinion of his worth recorded by Purchas seems to have been shared by the E.I. Company, who lost a conscientious and capable servant by his untimely death at the comparatively early age of 54 at Bantam in August, 1615.

The volume, which is accompanied by appropriate sketch maps and some illustrations, has been edited and annotated with Sir William's accustomed care and accuracy.

B. 379. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

DIE ÄLTESTE REZENSION DES MAHĀNĀTAKAM. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Bühnen- und Schattenspiels und der Rāma-Sage. Von ADOLF ESTELLER. (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgendlandes*, XXI, 7.) $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x + 250. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgendländische Gesellschaft, 1936. RM. 13.50.

The Mahānāṭaka presents numerous problems that have for a long time attracted the attention of students of Indian Drama. On the one hand the form of the work, which is no true drama, but a peculiar mixture of Epic, Drama, and Campu, has given rise to speculations as to its real nature and purpose, including the suggestion that it is a shadow-play, examples of which are known later, and might thereby help to throw some light on the origin of the Indian Drama. Secondly the work has come down in two widely differing recensions, an Eastern one redacted by Madhusūdana, and a Western one by Dāmodara. The relation of these two was unclear; Madhusūdana might be derived from Dāmodara, or vice versa, or both might be derived from a third unpreserved source. In addition S. K. De had discovered a third recension,

containing a Textus Simplicior, preserved in manuscripts at Dacca, which further complicated matters.

It is to this second problem that the author of the present work has applied himself, and as a result of laborious and penetrating researches, he has settled it once and for all. His conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows. The oldest recension is that of Dāmodara. The MSS. of this work can be divided into two classes, those without and those with the commentary of Mohanadāsa. The former present the most authentic text, and from them it is possible to produce a satisfactory edition of Dāmodara's work, an edition which the author promises us. Mohanadāsa has added to, and altered when he pleased, the text before him, as he states occasionally. The work of Madhusūdana is derived directly from that of Dāmodara. His object was to improve the work, to bring it more into line with the Rāmāyaṇa, to alter or remove those things which did not appeal to those who regarded Rāma as a god, and to eradicate inconsistencies; all of which processes the author demonstrates with a great wealth of detail and critical acumen, so as to remove the question finally out of the realm of controversy. The "Textus Simplicior" represented by the Dacca MSS. is also examined and found to be a secondary re-hash of Madhusūdana's version. In addition the author examines the printed editions of Madhusūdana's version, providing highly interesting and often amusing information about the methods of modern Indian editors. Thus the edition with English translation of Kālikṛṣṇa (1840) is based on the co-operation of an editor who knew Bengali and English but no Sanskrit, and a pandit who knew Sanskrit and Bengali but no English, with the results that one might imagine; Jīvānanda's edition of 1890, which mixes up the two recensions, transfers bodily the misprints of the edition of the western recension he was using; and so on.

Indian textual history is full of the problems of different recensions, and none has been more thoroughly and satis-

factorily handled than the present one. It is really a model of what textual research in Sanskrit ought to be. We trust that the author will continue with work of this kind, especially since his position at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, makes access to the manuscript stores of Indian easier to him than is the case with people in Europe; also that as a pattern and object-lesson it will stimulate researches of a similar kind. With regard to the more general questions presented by the Mahānāṭaka, the author promises to deal with them in future papers, to which we look forward with interest. Among these may be mentioned the nature of the Ur-mahānāṭakam from which Dāmodara's work is adapted; secondly the numerous citations in the Mahānāṭakam from the well-known Rāma-plays of Bhavabhūti, etc. The latter contain interesting variants which should be of considerable value to editors of those works when the critical edition of Dāmodara's work, which the author promises, appears. As regards the origin of the Indian drama, little light will, as he remarks, be thrown by this work.

A. 964. T. BURROW.

ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA IN THE MEYKAṆḌA ŚĀSTRA. By VIOLET PARANJOTI. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 258. London: Luzac and Co., 1938. 6*s*.

The purpose of this book is said to be to give an account of the Śaiva Siddhānta system as presented in Tamil literature, and evaluate it in the light of critical idealism. Miss Paranjoti gives a careful exposition of its philosophy and theological principles written in excellent English. Although the system recognizes the Vedas and twenty-eight Āgamas, it is treated here in its still more sectarian form as expounded in the Meykaṇḍa Śāstra, fourteen Tamil works by Meykaṇḍa and his disciples. It cannot be said that there is anything in it philosophically novel to Hindu systems. It has three padārthas, God, soul, and matter, which in this system are

ultimate principles. It recognizes the usual pramāṇas, but puts above them "self-luminous citśakti or intelligence, free from doubt and error". This, however, becomes supreme only when it is freed from obscuring impurities, so that in the meantime the aspiring soul may use other authorities. It is characteristic of the system that it puts Scripture before other means of proof. "It is obvious that the laying open of the Scriptures to searching criticism would be possible only if the Siddhāntin had entire confidence in the genuineness of the Scriptures." Śiva himself is their author. As that confidence is not shared by opponents, controversy with other schools becomes largely unreal. Besides this is the fact that the centre of the system is a concept of God which only revelation can give, and only the ecstatic utterances of the Śaiva saints can express to its devotees. It is Śiva himself who, appearing as a guru, brings the soul through his divine grace to a haven of eternal rest and peace. That is a region "where human thought goes not", but in dealing with the logical concepts of the system the author applies the principles of critical idealism. That means the metaphysical notions of F. H. Bradley and Lloyd.Morgan. Naturally with Bradley's Absolute on the one side and on the other a personal God together with the independent existence of souls and matter it is not easy to see any meeting-point, but the discussion helps to a clarification of the principles involved.

B. 154. E. J. THOMAS.

SRIMAD BHĀGAVATAM. Vols. I and II. 7½ × 5. Vol. I: pp. viii + 8 + 192 + 928. Vol. II.: viii + 16 + 1064 (text of the Purāṇa paged continuously). Madras: V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu, 1937.

This work is introduced in a preface by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, who informs us that the edition is by Mr. T. R. Krishnamachariar, of Kumbhakonam, and states that it is based on a number of manuscripts and is replete with

different readings. What those manuscripts are is not stated, and none of the various readings are referred to any source. Occasionally longer variants and interpolations of much interest are given, but nothing more definite is said about them than *iti pāṭhāntaram* or *iti ślokadvayaṃ kvacid adhikaṃ dṛśyate.* The text is that of the ordinary editions and has the Māhātmya from the Padmapurāṇa. The most original features are a summary of the whole in ślokas and a work entitled *Siddhāntacandrikā* dealing with the doctrines and works connected with Vaiṣṇavism, but no remark is made by the editor about them. The arrangement and production of the volumes are excellent, and the publishers also are to be congratulated on their enterprise in issuing such a handy and serviceable edition.

B. 168. E. J. THOMAS.

APHORISMS OF YOGA. By BHAGWĀN SHREE PATANJALI. Done into English from the original in Sanskrit with a commentary by SHREE PUROHIT SWAMI and an introduction by W. B. YEATS. 9 × 6, pp. 94, ills. 6. London: Faber & Faber, 1898. *7s. 6d.*

Mr. Yeats has written an introduction to this translation, and he begins by depreciating a certain rival translation. This is very natural, but why should he call the other " final, impeccable in scholastic eyes? " He admits that there is only one Indian scholar in his circle, and she is a lady, and yet he is certain that " those naked men " who had put what they believed an ancient wisdom into short aphorisms never talked of " predicate relations ". This is to depreciate Indian logic also. The translator's quality can be guessed from the fact that *pramāṇa* appears as " experience ". This also makes nonsense of the next sūtra, which enumerates the pramāṇas, and so this sūtra is perverted into " experience comes from perception, inference, evidence ". " Evidence " is his translation of *āgama.* The Swāmi has written his own

commentary and makes no reference to any other. It is anecdotal, and to this Mr. Yeats's Indian scholar objected, but Mr. Yeats even begged the Swāmi to be as anecdotal and biographical as possible. So the Swāmi tells of his "terrifying experience" when the kundalinee was awakened, and of another mahātmā who had to sit under a cold water tap for eight hours every day. Apparently Mr. Yeats did not ask what Tantrism was doing in an exposition of Patanjali. A list of "Yogi postures" with illustrations is included.

B. 175. E. J. THOMAS.

THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE (Vinaya-Piṭaka), Vol. I. (Suttavibhanga) translated by I. B. HORNER. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. X. 9 × 6, pp. lxiv + 360. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1938.

This volume worthily continues the work of translating the Pāli Vinaya begun by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg over fifty years ago. It is really the first part of the Vinaya, for the former translators, after prefixing the separate work known as the Pātimokkha, continued with the two later sections, the Khandhakas, which deal with the regulations for the daily life of the monks. The present portion, though it does not contain such interesting legends, deals with what is still more fundamental in the Buddhist disciplinary system. The translator gives a long introduction, which carefully discusses the character of Buddhist monasticism, the nature of the offences and penalties, and the translation of technical terms. On the last point the conclusions are conservative, and will probably be found generally satisfying. It would not be fair to fix on details of translation, which would probably only illustrate very subjective points of view. Some curious people called "further-men" pass through the pages. They appear to have materialized from *uttarimanussadhamma*, which is translated not as a state or quality which is beyond *manussadhamma*, the quality of a human

being, but as "a state or quality of further-men", as if the compound implied *uttarimanussa*. It is strange that the Pātimokkha inserted in *Vinaya Texts* should be described as being the Suttavibhaṅga cut down to comprise nothing more than the Pātimokkha rules themselves. Surely it is the other way about. It is the Pātimokkha which has been expanded in the Suttavibhaṅga and rather mauled, for the first part of it is not in the Suttavibhaṅga at all but in the Khandhakas. Naturally in a work of casuistry there are passages which do not lend themselves conveniently to translation. The translator has dealt satisfactorily with these, while not sacrificing anything to the demands of scholarship.

B. 227. E. J. THOMAS.

A MEMOIR ON KOTLA FIROZ SHAH, DELHI. By J. A. PAGE. With a translation of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* by Mohammad Hamid KURAISHI. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 52. 13 × 10, pp. 10 + 42 + 26, pls. 7. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1937.

This memoir on the ruins of the citadel Kotla Firoz Shah at Firozabad gives an historical account based on the Muslim narratives in the work of Elliott and Dowson. The most interesting part is the account of what is called the Lat Pyramid,[1] and among the views as to its nature held by different travellers we are told that the chaplain Edward Terry records that it was of marble with a Greek inscription. To this Mr. Page adds the note, "A translation of this inscription, which is in Pali character, is given in the Appendix." The Appendix consists of Hultzsch's translation of seven Pillar Edicts, but we are left unenlightened about this Greek inscription in Pāli character. It would have been interesting to know what the later inscriptions on the pillar

[1] This is the Delhi-Topra Pillar, see Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. xv, 119.

really are, but all we learn is the names occurring in some of them as given in Cunningham's Reports. The architectural aspect is naturally of great value, and it would perhaps have been all the better if the linguistic material had been left until it could be fully treated by a competent authority.

The most original portion of the work is the lithographed text of part of the second chapter of *Sīrat-i Fīrūzshāhī*, giving the story of the removal of the pillar from Topra to its present site. This has been transcribed and translated by Mr. M. H. Kuraishi. The illustrations of this manuscript are reproduced in facsimile, and four coloured illustrations of other stages of the work are given among the plates.

A. 957. E. J. THOMAS.

SANSKRIT BOOKS [in the India Office Library]. By PRAṆA NATHA and J. B. CHAUDHURI. Catalogue of the Library of the India Office. Vol. II, Part 1. Section 1 (A-G). $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$: pp. xxiv + 990. London: H. M. Stationery Office: 1938. 21*s*.

An important addition to the series of Catalogues of the India Office Library has recently been made by the publication of the first part of a new Catalogue of Sanskrit Books, which is designed to incorporate the contents of the previous catalogue and to register all subsequent accessions, thus bringing the record up to date. This volume contains the first section, covering all titles beginning with the first seven letters of the alphabet, and occupies 990 pages of text and 24 pages of addenda. The task of compilation has been carried out by Dr. Prana Natha and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri in accordance with a plan designed by Professor F. W. Thomas, under which the main entries are given under the titles of the books; the contents of title-pages are transcribed almost in full, and wording in Indian and other foreign languages is transliterated in roman script without translation, but adequate cross-references are given.

B. 430. A. Y. B.

Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs. By George Weston Briggs. (The Religious Life of India Series.) $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xii + 367, pls. xiv. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta, and Oxford University Press, 1938. 8*s.* 6*d.*

In this book, which is written by the Professor of the Study of Religions in Drew University, New Jersey, we have a monograph written with the comprehensive detail which we are wont to associate with American scholarship. Not only has the author, by travel and personal intercourse, acquired a first-hand knowledge of the present conditions of the extraordinarily interesting people with which he deals, but the extensive special literature of his subject has been fully utilized by him and the statements set out in his text have been scrupulously documented. Indeed, the comprehensiveness of the treatment is almost embarrassing, for the information available on the history and practices of the Gorakhnāthī or Yogī cult is vague and conflicting, and the whole of the vague and conflicting evidence is put before us in this book; but as a guide to truth this system of research is at the present stage preferable to artificial generalizations. The date of the founder, Gorakhnāth, is obscure, but Professor Briggs, after giving us all the evidence available, concludes that he lived not later than A.D. 1200, and possibly a century or two earlier. A careful account is given of the order which Gorakhnāth instituted, of its main divisions, its sacred places, and its position in the legends and in the religious development of India. The literature of the Jogīs, such as it is, is brought under review, and its main scripture—the Gorakṣa Śataka—is reproduced in full and is translated. The praxis of the cult is then described and its relations to asceticism and miraculous powers on the one hand, and to Tāntric ideas on the other, are set forth in considerable detail.

The book evinces care and scholarship throughout, and the transliteration seems to be unusually uniform and accurate, but is it necessary to write (p. 253) of the capital of Bavaria as "Müncen"?

B. 345. E. D. Maclagan.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

THE BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES OF NAGARJUNAKONDA, MADRAS PRESIDENCY. By A. H. LONGHURST. Archæological Survey of India, Memoir No. 54. 13 × 10, pp. iv + 67, pls. 50. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938. Rs. 12/8 or 20*s*. 6*d*.

Next to the "Indus Culture", Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is perhaps the most interesting archæological discovery of this century in India. The antiquities of the Palnāḍ plateau, in the hinterland of Guntūr district, famous in legend but now derelict, were brought to notice in the 'seventies of last century by two district officers, Boswell and Sewell, but, except for a brief epigraphic survey in 1909, nothing was done till 1926 when Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil unearthed some sculptures of the "Amarāvati School" at Goli and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and three inscriptions were copied of the Ikhāku dynasty (second to third centuries A.D.), known hitherto by their records at Jaggayyapeṭa. Digging was promptly entrusted to the competent direction of Mr. Longhurst (1927–1931), whose reports, published from time to time in various periodicals, are now revised and consolidated in this Memoir.

Four monasteries were excavated, with pillared halls, four small apsidal temples, a score or so of inscriptions (ably edited by Dr. Vogel in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 20), fragments of rather poor statuary, a palace, and nine *stūpas*, of which five were "plain", four "decorated", all apparently provided with rectangular projections ("*āyaka*-platforms", the so-called "altars" of Sinhalese *stūpas*) at the four cardinal points, each surmounted by five *āyaka*-pillars as depicted in the Amarāvati reliefs. The Great *Stūpa*, over 100 feet in diameter, was "plain", but the inscriptions indicate that it enshrined a relic of the Buddha himself. Relic caskets were found, hidden in peripheral chambers in the bases of four other *stūpas*. In two *stūpas* were found sets of water-vessels containing the ashes of monks, and in one (No. 9) only bones of

ox, deer, and hare, and belonging to it was a relief of the *Sasa* (Hare) Jātaka. Of rails and gateways there is no trace; if any existed, they were of wood. The "decorated" *stūpas*, however, though small, yielded over 400 reliefs in excellent preservation, only a fraction of which are yet published.

Mr. Longhurst's choice and handling of his evidence throws new light on Āndhra Buddhism, and on the peculiarities of the Āndhra *stūpa*, though more might be said on the size and probable position of some of the slabs figured. Nor is the local topography easy to follow in the absence of a site plan. Dr. Paranavitana's sober, scholarly discussion and interpretation of selected scenes represented on the reliefs (pp. 34–62) is also an important contribution to knowledge.

It is to be hoped that the whole of the material found will be published at an early date, for this Āndhra art marks an epoch, the relations of which with Gandhāra, Mathura, Sāñchi, Aihole, and Māmallapuram, and with Ceylon, Indo-China, and even Rome, need precise definition, and this is impossible if the greater part of the evidence is inaccessible.

B. 255. F. J. Richards.

The Cull Chinese Bronzes. By W. Perceval Yetts. 12 × 9½, pp. x + 197, pls. 35, figs. 44. London: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1939.

The Cull collection of Chinese bronzes, formed by Mr. A. E. K. Cull and Mr. James K. Cull, comprises some very fine early pieces, a pair of vessels in the style of the Third Phase which are fortunately datable (482 B.C.), and a great variety of mirrors and small later pieces. The definition of Professor Yetts's "three phases" was published in 1936. This method of classifying ancient bronzes is certainly preferable to the use of terms derived from the names of reputed sites, and infinitely preferable to a nomenclature ("Springs and Autumns", "Warring States") based on the titles of Chinese books. The author has enriched the catalogue by including

a series of essays in which he discusses at some length the more important points which arise in connection with the pieces which the catalogue describes.

In connection with No. 3, he is led into a discussion of the character for "child" and its various cognates and ramifications. One of these is a character which to-day is written 育 (I avoid the archaic alternative form, which might inconvenience the printer). Professor Yetts accepts the hypothesis of Wang Kuo-wei that, when it occurs in the Oracle Bones this character means "sovereign successor", and that one form of it developed into the modern character 后. Actually the character 育 occurs in early inscriptions in two somewhat different usages: (1) On oracle bones and on certain early bronzes it occurs in front of the names of ancestors. Wang Kuo-wei in such cases takes 育 (interpreted by him as 后) to mean "the latter" as opposed to "the former"; thus 育 祖 乙 is "Tsu I the Latter", as opposed to plain 祖 乙. An objection to this theory is that, if this were so, we should expect to find 先 (former) occurring in front of the names of ancestors, just as we find 太 "Big" contrasted with 小 "Little" in the nomenclature of the Shang kings. A second objection is that this explanation does not fit all the cases in which 育 appears in front of the names of ancestors. For example, in the well-known Pan Kuei 班 簋 inscription, 育 文 王 cannot mean "Wên Wang the Second", because there was only one Wên Wang.

(2) Exclusively on oracle bones, 育 occurs in the phrase "[sacrificing to divinities] 自 上 甲 至 于 多 育", i.e. "from the ancestor Shang Chia (Wèi) down to all the many sovereigns (successors ?)". In this second usage it is clear that 育 refers to the later Shang kings. But whether the word really means "the latter" (as opposed to "the former") is far from certain. It may in both its usages simply be a "noble" word (like the Chinese 康, 武, etc., or the Roman *augustus*), applied to ancestors. The archaic

pronunciation of 育 was approximately DUK, and so was that of 篤, which occurs in a similar way before names; e.g. the 篤 公 劉 of the *Book of Songs*. That the resemblance of some forms of 育 to 后 is anything more than an accidental convergence remains to be proved. The transition would imply (unless we accept the notion, for which there is inadequate evidence, that Chinese characters were not closely linked to sounds in the Shang period) that DUK is phonologically akin to HOU (the archaic pronunciation of 后 being, so far as we know, practically the same as the modern). A case could be made out for such a view, but it would involve a number of quite unproven phonological hypotheses.

In short, the suggestion of Wang Kuo-wei, which was a brilliant guess, certainly requires further confirmation.

Another derivate of "child" (in its inverted form) which Professor Yetts deals with is 㐬, "an abortion." The child in this case is described as being 不 順 "not conforming". There is little doubt that this originally meant "ill-formed", and that what was meant was births "unlucky" because premature, calendrically untimely, or deformed. "Not conforming" was, however, interpreted by the Confucians as meaning "disobedient", "unfilial", despite the manifest absurdity of classifying a new-born infant as "unfilial". The transition is an excellent example of the change from the auguristic phase of thought, which deals in contrasts of "lucky" and "unlucky", to the moral phase, which deals in "good" and "bad", "wicked" and "virtuous".

On p. 17 Professor Yetts speaks of characters such as this being "evidence that infanticide prevailed in ancient China". Such evidence is not, however, confined to interpretations of ancient script. Early Chinese literature contains many stories of infanticide, particularly in cases where no father acknowledged the child, or it was physically deformed (e.g. born with teeth), or born on an unlucky day. Thus in

chap. 75 of the *Shih Chi* we read that Mêng-ch'ang Chün was born on the fifth day of the fifth month. This was considered particularly unlucky. The father "said to the mother, 'Do not raise it.' But the mother raised it secretly and brought it up".

Professor Yetts has occasion to deal with only one inscription of any considerable importance. This is the inscription of nineteen characters round the upper rim of No. 12, the *Huang-ch'ih Hu*. There is not the slightest doubt that the Chao Mêng here referred to is the famous Chin statesman usually referred to as Chao Chien Tzŭ, and that the "Huang-ch'ih" of the inscription is the Huang-ch'ih which was the scene of a famous conference in 482 B.C., at which this Chao Chien Tzŭ was present. Thus stylistically this pair of bronzes (they are almost identical) become an important chronological landmark in the early history of the Third Phase.

Unfortunately one character in the inscription cannot be identified with certainty. It has been read as a compound of 介 (i.e. either 庎 or 厂介). The compounds do not make sense and must (if the phonetic is indeed 介) merely stand for the simple character.

Two difficulties occur: (1) The character 介 is not found on any other early inscription. We only know it in its Small Seal form, and do not know whether, even if it existed at all in the sixth century B.C., it was like or unlike the Small Seal form. (2) In texts, 介 and 分 are constantly confounded, owing to a strong resemblance in hastily written forms, and this makes it difficult to know whether 介 can mean "to allot" (the sense here required) or whether this sense is not really confined to 分. I am not sure that Professor Yetts quite accurately presents the views of Professor Jung Kêng, whom he quotes as saying that *chieh* 庎 is "a word meaning 'to reward'". Where and when has it such a meaning? Sung dictionaries give it the meaning "a kitchen dresser". Jung Kêng can, I think, only have meant that 庎 here stands for 介, and that 介 here means "to divide", "allot

a share", and so "to reward". He also makes Jung Kêng interpret 惕 金 as "the bronze respectfully [received]". One cannot "understand" an important verb which is not in the text. Surely what Jung Kêng meant is that though 惕 (strictly speaking 惖) is written, 錫 is the sense intended.

Professor Yetts gives several alternative translations of the inscription, on the ground that no "possible" interpretation should be neglected. To some of them the term "possible" can, I think, hardly be applied. Thus Professor T'ang Lan's interpretation is based on the assumption that KAN is a dialectical variation of NGO, presumably on the ground that both contain a guttural. This, phonologically speaking, is "not good enough". Of the alternatives proposed, Professor Yetts's own suggestion (that we should start reading the inscription at what has been usually taken at the second character) seems to me the only one which can reasonably be called "possible".

A number of small points may be noticed. The author speaks on p. 17 of "the many Chinese words with contradictory meanings". Some of these are certainly only apparent. Thus the idea that 亂 means both "disorder" and "good rule" is due to a wrong deciphering of an old character 𤔲, which meant 治 "rule". On p. 117, 敝 金 石 is translated "*outlast metal and stone*". I do not see how this meaning is got out of 敝. Surely 敝 is simply a phonetic equivalent for 比: "be like metal and stone."

On p. 161 the author speaks of "a composite work some of which is at least as old as the third century B.C." He is referring to the *Chou Pi Suan Ching*. Chūrō Nōda has published a study of this work,[1] in which he comes to the conclusion that it dates exclusively from Han times.

The catalogue is particularly agreeable to look at and handle, and is at the same time an important contribution to Chinese archæological studies.

B. 451. ARTHUR D. WALEY.

[1] *Memoirs of the Tōhō Bunka Gakuin*, vol. iii (Kyōto, 1933).

THE ANANDA TEMPLE AT PAGAN. By CHAS. DUROISELLE. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 56. 13 × 10, pp. 24, pls. xiv. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1937. 13*s*. 6*d*.

Although the Burmese overran most parts of Burma at one time or other, their only permanent kingdom centred round the Irrawaddy-Chindwin confluence, the navel of the country. Most of their successive capitals lay here, and it was at Pagan, the earliest major capital, 1044–1287, that their architecture reached its zenith. Adequate general descriptions of the temples at Pagan begin with Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava 1855", and the Ananda, best known and perhaps loveliest of all, has some monographs all to itself.

The Ananda was built in 1090 by the hero-king Kyanzittha. Its ground plan in the form of a Greek cross, its restful aisles, its enormous central mass which dominates the interior yet soars so serenely up through the outer air—these have been described again and again. Here we are given not only thirty-three fine illustrations but also the sum of recent knowledge. Pagan architecture is of Indian origin even though it has an added grace which is peculiarly Burmese: the pointed voussoir arch, everywhere such a feature here, is of Gupta provenance. As for the Ananda itself, the Burmese chronicles say its prototype was some Indian temple whose monks visited king Kyanzittha; here we are shown that the Paharpur temple in north Bengal, excavated by K. N. Dikshit in 1925–8, may weil be that temple, and indeed in several other respects Paharpur appears to be a link connecting India with Burma, Cambodia and Java.

Archæology in Burma, although of recent growth, has now, owing to political changes, been separated from India. Forchammer, the first archæologist to be officially appointed, died young in 1890; he had no successor with any scholarly training till C. Duroiselle, 1919–31, and twelve years tenure is a short time in which to establish critical standards

single-handed. Duroiselle, recalled from retirement in 1936, again makes us his debtor with this charming and scholarly paper on the architecture of the Ananda; his two previous studies deal respectively with the stone sculptures and the Talaing plaques.

B. 110. G. E. HARVEY.

EARLY IVORIES FROM SAMARIA. SAMARIA-SEBASTE, No. 2. By J. W. CROWFOOT and GRACE CROWFOOT. 11 × 9, pp. xv + 62, pls. 26, figs. 221. London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1938.

The material here admirably set forth in clear collotype plates and lucid text has already been partially published by Mr. Crowfoot in *PEFQ.*, 1932 and 1933; some of it has been on view during the past few years at the Museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Hinde Street, Manchester Square, the rest is in Jerusalem.

It is a great pleasure to find such prompt and full justice done to this important collection of ivories. They are important not only as marking the site of Ahab's "ivory house" at Samaria of which the foundations have disappeared, but also as providing, no less than the collections from Nimrud and Arslan Tash, a large mass of original material which can safely be ascribed to those elusive but influential craftsmen, the Phœnicians.

The repetitive ornamental strips and rectangular plaques, many with joiners' marks scratched on the back, justify the authors' interpretation of the ivory house as a room whose walls were inlaid with ivory; that the furniture in it was similarly decorated is indicated by the presence of plaques with tenons and of two lions carved in the round; any smaller and more detachable objects there may have been were no doubt carried off by the Assyrians, and perhaps found a home at Nimrud. The publication is a model of compact research. After a brief description of the site with

special reference to the context of the ivories, we are given a survey of their general characteristics and evidence for their dating, followed by a note by Mr. Sukenik on the chronological implications of the inscribed letters. Then follows a catalogue of the ivories, arranged, in default of chronological and stylistic distinctions, according to their subjects, and described in such detail as the excellent illustrations render necessary and with illuminating discussions of the various types and of their active and passive influences. Egyptian influence is apparent at every turn, especially in the figured reliefs, in subject-matter, in style and in technique, but the Phœnician origin of the ivories is betrayed by details of dress, by some of the decorative patterns, and by the Phœnician letters inscribed. It is on the ornamental side that the active influences of this art are most obvious: the Greeks decorated their furniture with ivory daisies, painted similar palms and lotus-chains on their early pots.

After a summary of the conclusions suggested by the catalogue, the book ends with two interesting Appendices: one of a technical character on the composition of the glass insets which were inlaid in many of the plaques, the other concerning the origin of the ivory used at Samaria and containing some instructive quotations from ancient sources which refer to the general use of ivory in Western Asia.

B. 373. J. M. LAING.

Biblical Archæology

CATALOGUE OF THE SAMARITAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLAND'S LIBRARY, MANCHESTER. By EDWARD ROBERTSON. 12½ × 10, pp. xxxviii + 412, pls. 5. Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1938.

The twenty-seven Codices which once belonged to the Earl of Crawford are now in the possession of the John Ryland's Library in Manchester. Professor Robertson must have

bestowed a great deal of labour on their description in this catalogue. He has gone into the most minute points. He not only gives the dates, colophons, but also a detailed description of the texts, sometimes leaves by leaves, not omitting particularities of the writing, lacunæ, how far the MSS. have been affected by age, dampness, or other causes which have contributed to their deterioration. In the introduction we have an elaborate sketch of Samaritan palæography. On page xxii he mentions a note in the Barberini Codex. I should like to refer him to my article on these signs in the *Noeldeke Festschrift.* The MSS. range from the thirteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. A small fragment in Codex VI is believed by Professor Robertson to be some centuries older. The Codices are mostly written in Samaritan, but at least six of them are Arabic, those belonging to the astronomical and theological groups. The MSS. are divided into four groups. The first seven are biblical. The first two belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries almost complete, the remaining five consist of leaves and fragments pieced together. The next group contains the theological writings. They are all in Arabic. There is the Tabah, two treatises of Ghazal al Duwaik, and the Arabic paraphrase of the Asatir, the Samaritan translation of which (The Pitron) I have published in the Asatir. Here the text does not finish with the death of Moses, but the story is continued to the times of Baba Raba, taken in all probability from an Arabic chronicle similar to that published by Joynbol. The next eleven MSS. are all liturgical. They do not cover the whole cycle of the year. Among them there is a fragment from the year 1664, Codex 27. In this group is found also a copy of the Defter, and Codex 18 seems to be the most important of the lot. It is a pity that Professor Robertson, who has treated the MSS. so exhaustively, should have refrained from giving in the liturgical texts the references to Cowley's *Samaritan Literature.* The last numbers, Codd. 21–26, are of an astronomical character, one being astrological, written in Arabic, and the others are calculations

of the calendar. Five plates have been added, facsimiles of Codd. 7, 1, 2 (biblical) and 22, 23 (astronomical). The book is most beautifully printed, almost sumptuously. Professor Robertson must be thanked for a painstaking work by which he has indebted all the students of the Samaritan literature, and the Trustees and Governors for the lavish and generous manner in which they have published this catalogue.

B. 326. (†) M. GASTER.

Cuneiform

KULTLIEDER AUS DEM ISCHTAR-TAMUZ KREIS. By CARL FRANK. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. vi + 134. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1939. *R.M.* 12.

GILGAMESH AND THE ḪULUPPU-TREE. By S. N. KRAMER. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ix + 64. Oriental Institute of University of Chicago: Assyriological Studies, No. 10. Chicago, Ill.; University of Chicago Press, 1939.

These two books, both devoted to what is certainly the most difficult and possibly the most thankless task in ancient Babylonian studies, the interpretation of Ṣumerian religious texts, may for that reason be noticed together, though they chance to be concerned respectively with the two broad subdivisions which are observable in that literature. The former offers translations of eleven selected texts of a purely religious kind, the latter a section of the long saga of Gilgamesh, which in Sumerian literature extended to a still unknown but evidently great length and diversity. Of this the Assyrian version, even when its twelve tablets were complete, can have offered only a severely abridged epitome.

Dr. Frank's texts are defined by him as belonging to the "Ischtar-Tamūz Kreis", a phrase which sufficiently exhibits the vagueness of our conceptions concerning a class of litanies (perhaps the nearest word) in which a goddess is the principal figure, sometimes addressed and often speaking with words of lamentation concerning a brother or consort who has

suffered calamity, or concerning calamities which may have befallen a particular place; in such litanies the names of reigning or former kings not uncommonly appear. It seems evident that these texts belong to the rites and ideas connected with the widespread mythology of the dying god and the circle of the seasons. The goddess appears everywhere, and Tammuz is sometimes mentioned, though far less often than a variety of other names for the counterpart of the goddess. These texts themselves contribute little to their own understanding by reason of their extreme vagueness, their hieratic repetitions, and lack of direct allusion to concrete circumstances. The specimens chosen by Dr. Frank are typical, but have no connection beyond a general similarity of subject. The translations are capable and sober, though how much in such versions (all the texts except No. 6 are in Sumerian, with occasional scraps of Akkadian translation) is a matter of personal opinion is illustrated drastically enough on p. 131 ff. On p. 10 is a sample of what can at present be extracted from this literature. Either it has little meaning, or we do not understand it sufficiently. Of the latter we may be sure, and the former we may suspect. But, these uncertainties existing, it seems odd to choose such a text as No. 1 (pp. 3, 4) which the author has almost to re-write conjecturally in order to obtain a translation.

The other work presents a portion, recovered by combination of several partly overlapping extracts, of the Gilgamesh story unknown in the extant parts of the twelve Assyrian tablets. It begins, as Sumerian stories loved to do, with a reference to the creation, and immediately narrows to the story of a particular *ḫuluppu*-tree destined, through the agency of Gilgamesh, to provide a bed and a chair for the goddess Inanna, after the hero had overcome three supernatural guardians of the wood. At the end the story continues with another adventure of Gilgamesh connected with this tree, and here comes into contact with the Assyrian epic. Dr. Kramer's translation is careful and sensible throughout;

he pays great attention to Sumerian grammar, strictly upon the principles laid down by Poebel, involving discussions, such as those of p. 17 ff., which may be thought almost hyper-critical. A commentary on the earlier part of the text follows; a few intermediate lines, which described how Gilgamesh afterwards *lost the two enigmatic* articles called *pukku* and *mikku* are omitted, on account of their obscurity, from the translation.

B. 341, 376. C. J. GADD.

Islam

LA RELIGION MUSALMANE EN BERBÉRIE: ESQUISSE D'HISTOIRE ET DE SOCIOLOGIE RELIGIEUSE. By ALFRED BEL. 10 × 6, pp. 411. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938.

The history of Islam in North Africa is well worthy of a monograph, for though the speedy rise and speedy disintegration of empires in that region closely resembles the course of events in the Eastern Caliphate, the religious element plays a more conspicuous part in Africa than in Asia. E. Mercier's *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale* (1888) is mainly political, and when M. Ch. André Julien in his work with a similar title (1931) deals with Islamic matters, his statements are more impressive by their novelty than by their accuracy. M. Bel has the advantage of local knowledge, and his work bears evidence of prolonged and careful research. This volume, the first of three, contains much that is interesting, and traces with great skill the evolution of Islamic doctrine among the Berbers. Perhaps the most attractive chapter is that in which an account is given of those Berber prophets who endeavoured to displace Muḥammad and the Qur'ān, the latter with a sacred book in their own language. Works which take up the challenge of the Qur'ān have not much chance of surviving, but since

a volume of Abu'l-'Alā Ma'arrī's *Fuṣūl wa-Ghāyāt* has come to light, possibly some portions of the Berber rivals may yet be discovered, and these would have more than merely linguistic interest. M. Bel has taken much trouble to elucidate the reforms of the Almoravids and the Almohades, in the latter case following the guidance of Goldziher. Though the same savant asserts that the lands of Western Islam furnished the best soil for the growth of Ẓahirite doctrine (*Ẓahiriten*, p. 114), M. Bel says little about this sect; probably it scarcely enters into his subject.

Either the printer or the proof-reader is likely to be responsible for the numerous vagaries in transliteration of Arabic words and names, e.g. *Nahrawān* (pp. 144, 145), *Ṣulṭān* (pp. 199, 200), and the treatment of *madāhib* as a singular and as a plural within a few lines (p. 254). Some sentences, however, can only be explained as illustrations of the Arabic saying that even a thoroughbred sometimes stumbles. The most remarkable is the statement (p. 142) *'Otmān fut assassiné dans la mosquée de Medine par un persan chrétien*. Charity would suggest that *'Otmān* is a miswriting for *'Omar*, but as the sentence proceeds to state that this murder provoked the vengeance of the Umayyad party, this would not help. M. Bel may of course exonerate 'Alī from all share in the assassination, only one who goes through the evidence collected by Balādhurī in his recently published *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* will probably take no side in the matter. Little less extraordinary is the assertion (p. 155) *Ce schisme* (Shī'ism) *n'est entrée en Perse qu'en 1502.* Of the statement (p. 120) *Le Calife n'est pas le représentant de Dieu sur la Terre* it is sufficient to say that the Caliphs thought otherwise; their encomiasts regularly style the Caliph *khalīfat Allāh*, of which "vicar of God" is a literal rendering.

B. 452. (†) D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

AL-HIDAYATU' L-ĀMIRIYA, being an epistle of the tenth Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir bi-aḥkāmi' l-lāh and an Appendix Iqa' Sawa'iqi' l-Irgham. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by ASAF A. A. FYZEE, M.A. Islamic Research Association, No. 7. pp. 21 + 40. Madras: Humphrey Milford, 1938.

The dispute for the succession to the Fāṭimid Caliphate after the death of Mustānṣir, A.H. 487, was of historical importance, since it gave rise to the sect known as *Ḥashīshīyah*, or Assassins, whose activities were sufficiently notorious to give a word to several European languages, and which, though it has long ceased to "assassinate", *still* exists in Syria and India. Mr. Fyzee has made a most interesting contribution to Islamic history by the publication of these propagandist pamphlets, issued by or in the name of the Caliph al-Āmir bi-aḥkāmi' l-lāh in defence of his father al-Musta'lī's title to the succession. The second pamphlet is a rejoinder to a reply which had been issued by Nizārites to the first. In a very well-reasoned Introduction the editor summarizes the arguments, and exposes their weakness.

The references to Biblical narratives, unknown to the Qur'ān, are curious and illustrate the danger inherent in a little learning. P. 16 of the text we read that Solomon assigned the Imamate to his son رحبعون, i.e. רחבעם Rehoboam, against whom there rebelled out of envy one named يربعون, i.e. ירבעם Jeroboam: the event went against Jeroboam as it went against Nizār who had rebelled against Musta'lī. P. 37, David slew his son Absalom when he rebelled against him. The "Books of the Israelites" which are quoted for these propositions tell very different stories.

The Qur'ān is cited with greater accuracy, but with a licence of interpretation which only partisans could find convincing.

The editor's analysis should prove more useful to those who do not read Arabic than a translation would have been.

B. 361.

(†) D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

TRACTS ON LISTENING TO MUSIC: Dhamm al-Malāhī by Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā and Bawāriq al-ilmā' by Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī. Edited, with introduction, translation, and notes, by JAMES ROBSON. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. viii + 191. Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, vol. xxxiv. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1938. 12*s*. 6*d*.

The recognition of music as a lawful and valuable element in the religious life of Islam was not achieved without bitter controversy. Here we have two tracts, representing opposite points of view by Ibn abī 'l-Dunyā, a notable theologian and *censor morum* who lived in the third century A.H., and Aḥmad (Majd al-Dīn) al-Ghazālī (*ob.* A.H. 505). The *Dhamm al-malāhī* is the oldest extant work on the subject, but has little interest except as a specimen of militant puritanism based on sayings of the Prophet, his Companions, and other early pietists. Using the term *malāhī* in its wider sense, the author denounces not only music but "instruments of diversion" like backgammon, chess, and pigeon-flying; and though backgammon is a form of gambling and therefore prohibited, he endorses the view that chess is worse because it is more engrossing, wastes more time, and leads to more violent quarrels between the players. The second treatise stands on a very different level both in matter and manner. It bears the name of Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, brother of the famous author of the *Iḥyā*. This ascription may be correct; if I do not feel entirely convinced, the reason lies in two passages which Aḥmad himself cannot have written, one referring to the *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* of 'Aṭṭār and another containing verses evidently modelled upon an ode of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Be that as it may, the *Bawāriq al-ilmā'* is an attractive, spirited, and original work, supplementing in some measure the classical exposition of the topic by the great Ghazālī (see D. B. Macdonald's translation in *JRAS.*, 1901–2).

Mr. Robson has performed his triple task in a way that does credit to his scholarship. The text is soundly established, and the translation exact; in general, I think, it follows

the idioms and constructions of the often difficult Arabic rather too closely, but this at any rate is a fault on the right side. Students will appreciate the numerous footnotes dealing with points which require explanation and giving many useful references. One sees that no pains have been spared to make the work as complete and accurate as possible.

P. 32, n. 4, and p. 34, n. 2. I doubt the identification of "Ibrāhīm" with Ibrāhīm ibn Adham. The sayings quoted seem more typical of such ascetics as Ibrāhīm al-Taimī and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī.

P. 85, n. 3. Ḥāritha must surely be Ḥāritha ibn Sharāḥīl, father of the Prophet's adopted son, Zaid. "The Ḥadīth of Ḥāritha" is celebrated (*Kashf al-maḥjūb*, translation, p. 7; *Ta'arruf* of Kalābādhī, tr. Arberry, p. 33, etc.).

P. 105, l. 6 fr. foot. "The Qur'ān has an exterior and an interior, a limit and a source." The last words represent حَدًّا ومُطَّلَعًا, *i.e.* "a legalistic and mystical sense". See Massignon, *Passion*, p. 704.

P. 111, n. 1. Probably ليس فيها طارق means "in which there is no full and perfect illumination". Rūzbihān al-Baqlī, commenting on Qur'ān, 86, 1, interprets *al-ṭāriq* as *mā yaṭruqu fī qulūbi 'l-ṣiddīqīn min tajallī nujūmi 'l-dhāt wa-'l-ṣifāt*.

P. 119, l. 7. For بقوى التمكين read بضوء التمكين. This emendation restores the parallelism with بنور اليقين in the preceding line.

B. 383.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

ILLUMINATION IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM. A translation, with an introduction and notes, based upon a critical edition of Abu-al-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī's treatise entitled Qawānīn Ḥikam al-ishrāq. By EDWARD JABRA JURJI. Princeton Oriental Texts, iv. 9 × 6, pp. x + 130. Princeton University Press, 1938. $2·50.

This mystical treatise by Abū 'l-Mawāhib of Tunis (Brockelmann, Suppl., II, 152), a Shaykh of the Shādhilī

Order, was written in the fifteenth century. It consists of two parts or chapters, the first of which comprises "Maxims of Illumination" in prose and verse classified under fourteen separate heads, such as unity, sincerity, love, poverty, *fanā* and *baqā*, sainthood, etc., while the second is a miscellany illustrating the same subject. The title, of course, alludes to the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* of Suhrawardī, but the work itself has very little to do with the Ishrāqī speculative philosophy: its author uses the term *ishrāq* in a purely mystical sense, as when he speaks of the soul being flooded with *nūr al-ishrāq* and flying to union with God on the wings of longing. Viewed as a guide to the illuminative life—and this I take to be its purpose—the book may claim originality and value. The translation is generally readable and, so far as one can judge in the absence of the text, appears to have been carefully done, though in some cases where Arabic words are given along with their English equivalents it would be easy to suggest corrections or improvements; *e.g.* on p. 29 *mukammal* is a mistake for *mukmil*: Ṣūfīs often apply the phrase *al-rajul al-kāmil al-mukmil* to the Sage who is not only perfect himself but also, acting as a spiritual teacher and director, makes others perfect. I cannot discuss here the translator's introduction and notes, which exhibit wide but somewhat uncritical erudition. It is surprising to find the name of Muḥāsibī linked with philosophers like Ibn Sīnā and Maimonides as one who "must have shared in the conception of emanations based on Hellenistic origins".

B. 384. R. A. NICHOLSON.

VOM EINFLUSS DES QUR'ANS AUF DIE ARABISCHE DICHTUNG. By MUHAMMAD RAHATULLAH KHAN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 96. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1938.

This monograph falls into two parts of unequal merit. In the sub-title defining its scope it is described as "a study of the poetical works of Ḥassān ibn Th̲ābit, Ka'b ibn Mālik, and 'Abdallah ibn Rawāḥa", well-known leaders in the

Prophet's literary campaign against Mecca. Ḥassān, of course, contributes most of the material available. The poems are saturated with expressions and ideas borrowed from the Qur'ān, which the author has collected, tabulated, and analysed. The list of parallels (pp. 27–93) supplies many interesting stylistic details, and he deserves commendation for a carefully executed piece of research. His introduction deals with larger questions, but is less satisfactory. Strangely enough it gives no biographical information concerning the three poets, nor does it even refer to the Encyclopædia of Islam, where a separate article is devoted to each of them. Whether deliberately or not, it avoids any clear and conspicuous statement of the fact that they were propagandists employed by the Prophet and that their poems, in which the influence of the Qur'ān is undeniable, offer in this respect a striking contrast to the Arabic poetry that was produced during the next hundred years. The author never comes to close grips with the general subject indicated by the title of his book. It is a pity that he so often takes refuge in phrases, such as "the irresistible spell cast by the Qur'ān over the Arabs", which are obviously absurd in this connection and can only suggest that he is afraid to draw logical inferences from admissions he has found himself obliged to make.

B. 277. R. A. NICHOLSON.

Miscellaneous

ANAPHORAE SYRIACAE QUOTQUOT IN ÇODICIBUS ADHUC REPERTAE SUNT CURA PONTIFICII INSTITUTI STUDIORUM ORIENTALIUM EDITAE ET LATINE VERSAE. Vol. I, Fasc. 1. $11 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xlix + 96. Rome, 1939.

The Greek word *anaphora* is, according to Père S. Salaville, *Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (1938), equivalent to the Roman "Canon of the Mass", and resembles the

Anglican Communion Service. The work of which this is the first instalment is likely to prove very voluminous, since the first section of it by A. Raes, S.I., enumerates a vast number of MSS, and furnishes quite a stately list o' saints and ecclesiastics to whom such works are ascribed. This Introduction, which is mainly statistical, is followed by two *anaphorae*, that of the Alexandrian Timotheus, edited by A. Rücker, and that of the Antiochene Severus, edited by a member of the R.A.S., Mr. H. W. Codrington. The editions contain elaborate prolegomena and copious critical apparatus. The Syriac is translation from Greek, and reproduces several words in that language; I confess to having been puzzled (p. 44, l. 10) by ܦܪܘܣܣܘܡܢ, till the Latin version opposite showed me that it was a misprint, and meant *πρόσχωμεν*. The number of misprints in the Syriac is considerable; on p. 16, l. 6, ܟܠܕܝܢ is twice written for ܟܠܗܝܢ. Rather more serious is p. 60, l. 10, ܡܟܣܝܢܙ for ܡܟܣܝܢܪ. It is not clear whether p. 14, l. 7, ܕܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ is a vulgar form or a misprint for ܕܐܘܪܝܫܠܡ.

The Latin is of the variety called ecclesiastical, sometimes (though not often) suggestive of St. Dunstan's when flurried, e.g. *pronominorum*, p. 7, *Bibliam graecam*, p. 52.

From the number of editions and versions of such works that have appeared in Europe it may be inferred that numerous Orientalists are interested in liturgical studies. Their linguistic importance is of the slightest; I have only noticed one phrase which requires the services of a commentator, p. 32, l. 2, where among evils from which deliverance is solicited is ܟܠܝܘܬܟܢܫܐ, rendered in the Latin *invasio populi*. It should mean "prohibition of assembly", furnishing an example o' a word quoted in the *Thesaurus* from glossaries. But this too requires some elucidation.

B. 377. (†) D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

and western Kshatrapas (1908) and Whitehead's Lahore catalogue of the Indo-Greek coins (1914). Reference to the latter would have corrected nearly half a dozen discredited readings repeated at pp. 338–9. Punch-marked coins are described as by Theobald and Cunningham (pp. 345–6) without mention of the discoveries of Spooner and Walsh which have entirely changed the interpretation of those coins. The corrections of Cunningham's reading of Aṣata Pāla to Amṛit Pāla (p. 405) and of a Rāja Janapada to "the country of the Rājañyas" (p. 398) are ignored. Specht's attempt to decipher the inscriptions on the coins of the Hephthalites is quoted with reserve (p. 446), though it would have been better to point out that they are in debased Greek, as shown by Herzfeld in his memoir on the Kushāno-Sāsānian coins (1930). A number of useful plans show the areas occupied by different dynasties, but that at p. 461 places Khotan on the same latitude as Śrīnagar and Kian-Sou about ten degrees west of its real situation.

A. 844. R. BURN.

VORLESUNGEN UBER DIE KUNDE HEBRÄISCHER HANDSCHRIFTEN, DEREN SAMMLUNGEN UND VERZEICHNISSE. Von MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER. Zweite unveränderte Auflage. 9 × 6, pp. x + 110, pl. 1 (Schrifttafel). Jerusalem: Bamberger and Wahrmann, 1937.

This anastatic reprint of the *Vorlesungen* deserves a welcome, although our pleasure at seeing a new issue of what has become a very rare book is tempered by regret that the enterprising publishers did not take this opportunity of revising and enlarging it. It is remarkable, however, how useful and valuable this handbook remains in spite of the lapse of forty years since it first appeared. The subject of Hebrew manuscripts is treated briefly and authoritatively from every angle, including the physical structure, the inks and writing instruments employed, the styles of writing, the scribes, owners, colophons, and most

exasperating and baffling of all—the abbreviations. A chapter is also devoted to the distribution of the manuscripts, showing where the collections are to be found. It is here especially that one misses a revision of the text, for since the book was first published (in 1897) two new countries have sailed into the bibliographer's horizon, the United States and Palestine. Other changes, too, have taken place, which it would have been helpful to record.

This handbook shows everywhere the author's mastery of his material. Steinschneider was one of the last of the encyclopædists. Fortunate in a long life (he almost bridged a century), a natural aptitude for the subject, and skill in languages, he soon won for himself a position of unchallenged supremacy in Hebrew bibliography. His range was astonishingly wide, covering most of the departments of medieval lore, with the exception of the purely literary. His catalogues, handbooks, and articles remain a rich quarry in which the discriminating research student can still dig with profit to himself. While Steinschneider's style makes no pretensions to elegance, it is occasionally enlivened by the intrusions of his literary feuds, of which the reader will find examples in this book.

To the student wishing to embark upon the intellectually if not materially rewarding adventure which Hebrew manuscripts provide, this textbook will be found indispensable.

B. 148. J. LEVEEN.

WEI SHIH ER SHIH LUN, by Vasubandhu. Translated from the Chinese Version of Hsüan Tsang by CLARENCE H. HAMILTON. American Oriental Series, 13. 10 × 7½, pp. 82. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1938.

The *Viṁśatikā* of Vasubandhu has received less attention from scholars than its companion work, the *Triṁśikā*, yet it is of considerable importance for estimating the philosophic content of the *vijñaptimātra* doctrine and for understanding how its exponents met the objections raised by other schools

against their idealist standpoint. The present translation is made, not direct from the Sanskrit original published by Lévi, but from Hiuan Tsang's version; its value lies in the fact that the Chinese pilgrim had thoroughly mastered this doctrine and that his translation gives us the meaning of the text as it was then understood in India, and thus often clears up points which are not easily intelligible in the Sanskrit. Further, Hiuan Tsang is always careful to name the school from which each objection proceeds, and his exposition of the text is contained in the commentary by his pupil, K'uei Chi, from which liberal extracts have been made in the footnotes. The work has been well done, and the book will be found of great use for the proper understanding of Buddhist philosophy, while the addition of the Chinese text opposite the translation makes it a suitable textbook for those who would learn to read Buddhist texts in Chinese.

B. 320. E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY. Vols. VII–XII, and Vol. V (Plates). Cambridge: The University Press, 1939.

The President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society desire to record their congratulations to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press on the recent completion of such a universally important work as the publication of the final volumes of the Cambridge Ancient History. Full and well deserved recognition of its value to Oriental Scholars has already appeared in the daily press.

B. 392. ED.

OBITUARY NOTICES

John F. Baddeley

At Oxford, on 16th February, aged 85, died a Member (since 1917) of the R.A.S. (and Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and Vice-President of the Georgian Historical Society) whose name will live long. We have lost a man of whom we may be proud.

His standard work, *Russia, Mongolia, and China* (1919), is a thing of beauty and scholarship, and no sooner was it out than he began another great book and now leaves it complete in repeatedly revised proof sheets with fine plates of his own making, for he was an artist not only in words. This posthumous book deals with the Caucasus and its mountaineers, in which he had shown a lively interest for more than fifty years, as a traveller, geographer, historian, anthropologist, archæologist, journalist, botanist, sportsman, and warm friend of brave people now doomed to dispersal and death.

His very valuable collection of books on the Caucasus, particularly the high lands, has found a home in the London Library (already holding his mother's unique set of historical London portraits and prints), and will remain a fine memorial, helpful to many generations of students of one of the richest and least known fields of research.

His *Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (1908), dealing with the war in Daghestan (cf. also *Georgica*, pp. 44–9, October, 1936), of which Shamyl was the chief hero, reminds us of Baddeley's excellent work through many years as a journalist, for he writes of bygone days as vividly and accurately as if he had been a contemporary, present at army headquarters on both sides and in the field everywhere.

There can be now few alive who knew Baddeley fifty years ago, in the days chronicled in his *Russia in the 'Eighties* (1921), when he played a useful part in Anglo-Russian affairs,

as a trusted friend and adviser of British diplomatists in St. Petersburg, but they will certainly agree that to the end of his life he kept undimmed that courtly charm of manner, warmth of heart, and vivacity of mind which made a most attractive, amiable, and inspiriting personality, clad in a handsome, athletic form, thoroughly English.

A short obituary notice appeared in *The Times* on 21st February.

41. O. W.

C. Mabel Rickmers

The death of Mrs. Rickmers on Christmas Eve, 1939, has left another gap in the small band of English women who towards the end of last century took up the study of Indian languages and literature. Mrs. Rhys Davids and Miss Ridding are still with us, and Mrs. Bode has left scholarly contributions to the Pāli Text Society and to our own Prize Publications Fund.

Mabel Duff was the granddaughter of that pioneer among Scotch missionaries in India, Dr. Alexander Duff, and doubtless inherited his interests in India and the Indian peoples. She studied Sanskrit at Kiel under Dr. Paul Deussen, the eminent Vedānta scholar, and translated into English his *Manual of Vedānta Philosophy*.

Her best known contribution to Indian Studies is her *Chronology of India*, Constable, published in 1899, a much wanted and useful book of reference, the compilation of which took patient study and research. She married in 1897 the well-known explorer and mountaineer, Willy Rickmers, living for some years in London, where they had a large circle of friends, before they undertook their first expedition into Central Asia. Starting from Bokhara they made a three weeks' journey on horseback into the wild fastnesses of Turkestān. Some of their adventures were recounted by Mrs. Rickmers in a paper to the Society.

She accompanied her husband on many expeditions into Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Balkans, and was an intrepid traveller, ski-runner, and mountaineer. Her sense of humour, added to her courage, carried her through many dangers and difficulties and added much to her accounts of their adventures.

For some years now they have devoted themselves to literary work, alternating with long ski-ing expeditions in the Austrian and Bavarian highlands, their names being well known in the world of Alpine sports.

Mrs. Rickmers had complete command of the German language and has done good work in translating English books on Indian subjects into German and *vice versa*. She also contributed reviews to the Society's *Journal*.

She had a good life and a dangerous one, and enjoyed it to the full. Her loss will be much felt by her many friends.

43. C. FRAZER.

George Eumorfopoulos

Wherever Chinese art is valued, the name of George Eumorfopoulos has long been honoured as that of a great collector and discerning critic. Contributing to this fame were his numerous loans to exhibitions and gifts to museums, the publication of his collection catalogue, and finally the purchase of his collection by the nation. But perhaps he became even more widely known through personal contact with those countless visitors from all countries whom he welcomed in his home at Clandon and, since 1922, on the Chelsea Embankment. Among devotees of Oriental culture who have come to England, scarcely one can have left without seeking this privilege, always so readily granted. With equal hospitality the house and collection were thrown open to the uninitiated, many of whom must have been moved by their host's enthusiasm to start on the discovery of a new world.

He had a catholic taste; many Persian and mediæval

European works, for instance, were treasured as well as the far more numerous Chinese section which he loved best during the last thirty-six years of his life. English and Continental porcelain had at first stirred his collecting instinct, and there was a brief phase in this early period when Japanese tea bowls took precedence. Then he started his main collection with the porcelain of recent centuries, at that time deemed the zenith of Chinese craftsmanship and the natural quarry of collectors. Railway making in China soon offered him the chance to exercise his flair independently of fashion. It occasioned the opening of ancient tombs on a large scale, bringing to light vast quantities of *ming ch'i* or things made on purpose to accompany the dead, and also a lesser number of cherished possessions buried with them. Some of these finds, imported here, were then almost unknown to us, and but for Eumorfopoulos' discernment in appraising their qualities, there might not have arisen the Western demand which influenced Chinese peasants to preserve objects found in tombs, instead of throwing them away or smashing them, as was their wont with anything not made of valued material such as bronze or jade. Thus saved from destruction, pottery and clay figurines rapidly became the vogue, and a T'ang horse or camel was a coveted addition to the furniture of London drawing-rooms. Among collectors, too, an apprecia- tion of the earlier ceramics grew apace, excavated Sung pieces, for instance, supplanting the less subtle products of the Ch'ing period. Eumorfopoulos was the pioneer in this retrospective movement, his delight being to secure fresh types for study and demonstration to his friends.

After the ceramics, metal-work came next in his affections. The first bronze he got was the famous owl goblet whose engaging air was enough to recommend it, apart from ritual associations. He always let his æsthetic reaction determine the choice; rarity and archæological import were of less account. Yet questions about the cultural setting of any piece never failed to rouse his curiosity. He recognized the

significance of sacrificial bronzes as the chief monuments of early Chinese civilization and basic criteria for the beginnings of Chinese art. Ritual implications weighed with him, he told me, when buying his second bronze, distinguished otherwise for the beauty of its patina and design. Some notice of this wine-container of the *yu* class (catalogued as A 24) is fitting, because it started not only the series of hieratic vessels in the Eumorfopoulos collection, but also our familiarity with the best archaic casting. Its arrival in London came as a revelation to the collecting world here, unaccustomed to the standard it set in craftsmanship and costliness. In 1912 it was sold by John Sparks to W. Cleverley Alexander for more than £1,000, then a sum unheard-of in this country for a Chinese bronze. Some years after Alexander's death in 1916, Eumorfopoulos bought it at double the price, and thenceforward he added greatly to his bronzes so that in time they could compare with any group in Europe. Besides the ceramic and metal, most other mediums were represented in the collection which finally totalled well over 4,000 pieces. Of the folio catalogue begun in 1925, six volumes on the ceramics were written by R. L. Hobson, two on the paintings by Laurence Binyon. Six volumes dealing with the remainder of the collection were allotted to me, two being on the bronzes and one on the Buddhist sculpture. The last three that fell to my share were prepared for publication but never printed; they treated of the jades, jewellery, and miscellaneous objects.

The project of a Central Museum of Asiatic Art was blessed by the Royal Commission on National Museums in its *Final Report*, dated 1929. That led those of us who had championed the cause to look for realization of our hopes, and a committee was formed which included Eumorfopoulos. During conversations on this subject, often he told me of his earnest wish that the collection might continue intact as part of the future Museum, his intention being to give it to the nation. As time went on, however, financial conditions forced him to modify this generous desire to the extent of offering the collection

for a sum far less than it was likely to fetch in the open market. Eventually in *The Times* of 2nd January, 1935, the Directors of the British and the Victoria and Albert Museums jointly announced acceptance of the unique opportunity. The sum agreed upon was £100,000, and a leader on the subject in the same issue contained this sentence: "In allowing his collection to be bought at such a figure, Mr. Eumorfopoulos takes rank with two other great benefactors of the British Museum, the Lord Elgin of the Marbles, who accepted £35,000 for what had cost him more than twice that sum, and Sir Hans Sloane, whose executors accepted about one-quarter of the value of the famous Sloane collections." Thus the collection, though now divided, remains intact and will be reassembled when the proposed Central Museum of Asiatic Art comes into being.

Not quite the whole collection, however, became public property; for the comprehensiveness of the ceramic section was such that it contained types already well represented in the two national museums. To avoid duplication, these had been excluded from the purchase. Some were sold by Messrs. Bluett and Sons in 1935, and a substantial remnant continued to occupy, though sparsely, the show-cases at 7 Chelsea Embankment.

About fifteen years ago Eumorfopoulos started a separate collection for the Benachi Museum in Athens, his aim being that it should exemplify the whole range of Chinese pottery and porcelain. Part he presented in 1930, and part recently. It totals 799 pieces. During the last four years of his life fresh Chinese acquisitions began to fill gaps in the show-cases, and he added also to his earlier purchases of English and Continental drawings, paintings, and sculpture.

Closely linked with and largely inspired by the great collection and its creator was the Oriental Ceramic Society, founded by a coterie of twelve connoisseurs at the beginning of 1921. They elected Eumorfopoulos president, and he continued in that post until his death; their symposia often

took place among his treasures; and even since 1933, when the membership was widened, his house has remained the virtual headquarters of the Society.

His writings comprise six brief items—two articles in *Artibus Asiae* for 1925 and 1927, one in the *Burlington Magazine* for 1919, another in the *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1922–3*, and two prefaces in the collection catalogue. This reticence in print, matched by his habit in conversation, reflected a modesty which almost amounted to self-effacement. On the rare occasions of outspokenness, his wide knowledge, accuracy of observation, and fertility of ideas were revealed. He sought no glory for himself, nor was he heard to protest if others claimed his theories as their own. Testimony to the extent of his reading was found lately when, in accordance with the terms of his will, I went through his library to choose whatever books were needed by the Courtauld Institute of Art. This munificent bequest, supplementing similar gifts to the Institute during his lifetime, came as another proof of keen interest in academic studies. From the foundation in 1930 of a department of Chinese Art and Archæology in London University through the generosity of Sir Percival David, he attended all the lectures and gave access to his collection for research and demonstrations. During the last eight years, since the chair of Chinese Art and Archæology was established, his frequent presence was a source of encouragement to both students and professor.

Retirement from the firm of Ralli Brothers in 1934 left Eumorfopoulos free to satisfy his ambition to visit the Far East. In February of the next year he went as one of a committee to select objects for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, and visited China, Japan, Canada and the United States. The fatigues of the journey seemed to have affected him so little that in September he felt able to attend an art congress in Leningrad. But these exertions must have told on his health; sickness prevented him from taking an active part in the final arrangements for

the great Exhibition in which his own collection figured prominently. After another illness, sustained with fortitude, he died on the 19th December last at his house on the Chelsea Embankment.

Much is omitted from this obituary, because I have attempted to touch on only the side of his life familiar to me. His obvious joy when he flew to the Ur excavations in 1929, for instance, gave a hint of archæological interests in other fields. The full tale of his benefactions, public and private, can never be known; his was a lovable personality and he will be missed sorely by many in all parts of the world.

George Eumorfopoulos was born in 1863 in Liverpool of Greek parentage. In 1890 he married Miss Julia Scaramanga, who survives him and is held in equal affection by the countless recipients of their hospitality.

The following decorations were conferred on him :— Greece : Knight Commander of the Order of the Redeemer and Commander of the Order of George I ; France : Officer of the Legion of Honour ; and Italy: Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

40. W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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Printing and Translations under Muḥammad 'Alī of Egypt

The Foundation of Modern Arabic

By J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE

PERHAPS one of Muḥammad 'Alī's most remarkable achievements was the new direction he gave to the Arabic language and its literature. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the use of the literary language had been confined to the needs of the mosque and the *madrasahs* attached thereto and, in a very limited way, to the antiquated scientific pursuits of a few of the *'ulamā'* of al-Azhar. The literary language was also used for a certain amount of the popular literature and by the poets. Persian was read by a few, especially those interested in literature. Most educated Turks knew the "three languages", *al-lughāt ath-thalāth* as they were called, i.e. Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. The Turk appears to have used Arabic for his faith, Persian for his literary taste, and Turkish for governing. Turkish was used for official purposes and there is ample evidence in al-Jabartī that there were many in Egypt who knew Turkish, but it was not until the period of Muḥammad 'Alī that Egypt became Ottomanized in spite of the fact that it had been a part of the Turkish Empire for three centuries. One might have supposed that the sudden intensive use of the Turkish language would have ousted Arabic altogether and, normally, this would have occurred but for the scientific needs of the new ruler. Whereas the Turks favoured the purely military achievements of Muḥammad 'Alī, they had very little inclination and no patience for supplying the scientific requirements of a modern army. It was due to the scientific indolence of the Turks in Egypt that Arabic gained an important place in this renaissance; the military achievements were ephemeral, the armies soon disappeared and were forgotten, but the ground covered by these early pioneers in the fields of linguistic

achievements was never lost. Arabic had, in any case, supplied the technical terminology of Turkish for centuries; on this ground it could hold its own quite easily and, although Arabic suffered through the destruction of the old *madrasah*-system, it gained immensely through the new needs of Muḥammad 'Alī. At the end of the thirty years' military and naval struggles of Muḥammad 'Alī, Egypt, it is true, had not yet supplied literary history with any great names, but its language had certainly found new life. One of the chief instruments which helped in creating this new language was the printing press, and it is to this that we shall first turn our attention.

The first Arabic printed text to be used in Egypt was most likely the *Missale Copto-Arabicum*, edited in the College of the Propaganda in Rome in 1736 by Raphael Tuki (Ṭūkhī), a Copt, who had been sent to Rome from Ṭūkh when a child to be trained as a priest for the Roman Catholic Church.[1] There is evidence that the religious texts printed in the Lebanon were also in use in Egypt during the eighteenth century, for Chabrol noted that the Psalms in Arabic were read in some Coptic *kuttābs* or elementary schools.[2] There appears to have been an interchange of religious and cultural ideas between Syrian Christians, Franciscans, and Catholic Copts, especially from about the reign of 'Alī Bey al-Kabīr (*c.* 1750); there was a large influx of Syrians into Egypt from this period and they probably brought their religious works with them.[3] The first printing press to be used in Egypt was that brought to the country by Napoleon with the French Army; it was the press of the College of the Propaganda which Napoleon had confiscated on his way out to Egypt.[4]

[1] Ṭūkhī was the first Egyptian to be educated in Europe; other Copts were sent in the early part of the eighteenth century, *vide* Appleyard, *Eastern Churches*, London, 1850, p. 116, and Sonnini, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, London, 1799, vol. iii, pp. 122 and 173.

[2] *Essai sur les mœurs des habitants modernes de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1800, p. 66.

[3] *Vide* especially Carali, *as-Sūriyūn fī Miṣr*.

[4] Ṭarrāzī seems to have thought that Napoleon brought the press from Paris; *vide* *Ta'rīkh aṣ-Ṣaḥāfat al-'Arabiyah*, Bayrūt, 1913, vol. i, p. 45.

He even brought the Maronite translators attached to the college, took them on the strength of the French Army with special rates of pay, and placed them at the service of J. J. Marcel, the director of the press. This press was supplied with type for printing Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Greek and other European languages, and of the twenty publications produced by the French only one could have been of any interest to the Egyptians, and that was a small treatise in Arabic on small-pox published in 1799, and casually described by al-Jabartī as *lā ba's bihā fī bābihā*—"not a bad little treatise of its kind." [1]

There was another French press in Egypt under Marc Aurel, which he appears to have brought with him and which was later amalgamated with that under Marcel. Aurel edited the *Courier de l'Égypte* until it was taken over by Marcel. When the French withdrew from Egypt Marcel took the press back with him to France, where it was used for printing Oriental works.[2]

When Muḥammad 'Alī became Governor of Egypt he began his reforms almost immediately, and appears to have realized the value of establishing a printing press. He had probably seen some of the printed works which came from Turkey (where they had had a press from 1728), Syria (where they had been printing religious works for over a century), and from France. To set up a printing press he must have had some idea of what he expected to publish. He appears to have borrowed his model from the works already printed in Turkey, as so far he had not a single translator or writer whose works he could publish. Having made up his mind to establish a number of important schools on modern lines, he soon realized the pressing need for large quantities of textbooks in Arabic and Turkish for teachers and students. The material which came from Turkey was insufficient and

[1] *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi'l-Tarājim wa'l-Akhbār*, Cairo, 1879, vol. iii, p. 141.

[2] *Al-Hilāl*, vol. xxii, 1913–14, p. 109, and Geiss, "Histoire de l'Imprimerie en Égypte," *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, 5e serie, Tome ii, 1908, p. 196.

out-of-date, and to make up for this deficiency, he set about collecting books with the keenness of a bibliomaniac. He sought books from every possible source from which information and learning could be derived for the enlightenment, education, and guidance of his officials and for the advancement of his many schemes. Many were acquired by 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn, his special favourite and right-hand man while he was in Europe, for he was sent there as early as 1809 and did not return until about 1816. While 'Uthmān was in Italy and France he purchased books on every conceivable subject to the value of 50,000 roubles.[1] This was not the only source, for the officers who were ordered from France to join the Boyer military mission were requested to bring elementary texts connected with their special work.[2] There are further instances showing Muḥammad 'Alī's method in acquiring books from Europe and Turkey for use in his translation departments and schools; an order dated 5th Dhī'l-Ḳa'da 1241 (11th June, 1826), instructed Boghos Bey about the distribution of books received from Europe; those connected with teaching and naval matters were to be sent to the *Maktab al-Jihādiyah*, i.e. the new Ḳaṣr al-'Ainī Military School.[3] It soon became known that Muḥammad 'Alī was interested in the acquisition of books that would throw some light on European methods, for Drovetti, the French Consul-General, collected a large number of works from the Director of the Toulon Dockyards on nautical science, marine law, and shipbuilding for presentation to Muḥammad 'Alī; on receipt of which he showed his gratitude by ordering Boghos to send a sword and a Kashmir shawl to the Director.[4]

[1] Cattaui, *Le Règne de Mohamed Aly d'après les archives russes en Égypte*, Cairo, 1931, vol. i, pp. 387-8. Another interesting example of this type of acquisition is quoted in *The Times*, the 4th July, 1818, column 4, where Muḥammad 'Alī ordered 600 volumes of French works.

[2] Douin, *Une Mission militaire française auprès de Mohamed Aly*, Cairo, 1923, p. 23.

[3] Amīn Pasha Sāmī, *Taḳwīm an-Nīl*, vol. ii, p. 322.

[4] Ibid., p. 323.

An order dated 19th Rabī' II 1243 (9th November, 1827), to an agent in London shows Muḥammad 'Alī's interest in naval matters, for he ordered a book about some new ships then being built in England; he was particularly anxious to find out the cost of building these vessels; he also ordered a number of copies of another book on elementary teaching.[1] Another order dated 25th Shawwāl 1244 (30th April, 1829), shows that an illustrated book on fortifications had been received from Constantinople.[2] The Royal Archives in 'Abdīn Palace show us further instances of Muḥammad 'Alī's method of acquiring books from abroad; an order dated 16th Ṣafar 1241 (19th September, 1825) to Ṣādiḳ Efendī in Constantinople asked for a copy of a work on surgery in Turkish.[3] Tossizza sought books for Muḥammad 'Alī from Smyrna through some merchants.[4]

Brocchi's visit to the Būlāḳ School in 1822 shows that already there was quite a collection of European works in the School library, and also a number of Arabic and Turkish works printed in Constantinople.[5]

In the earliest stages, Muḥammad 'Alī appears to have brought three presses from Milan,[6] while the ink, paper, and other materials were brought from Leghorn and Trieste[7]; at a later period the presses came from Paris, for Michaud and Poujoulat state that there were eight of them in use in 1831.[8] The Oriental type was at first made in Italy and later

[1] Ibid., p. 330, also Royal Archives, 'Abdīn Palace, *Daftar No. 31, letter No. 24.*

[2] Amīn Pasha Sāmī, op. cit., p. 347.

[3] *Daftar No. 22, letter No. 202*; it was called *Shāfī Zādah fī Fann al-Jirāḥah.*

[4] *Daftar No. 21, letter No. 2204, dated the 24th Rabī' I 1241* (6th November, 1825).

[5] Brocchi, *Giornale delle osservazioni fatte nei viaggi in Egitto, nella Siria e nella Nubia*, Bassano, vol. i, pp. 160–1.

[6] Ibid., p. 172.

[7] Loc. cit., and Zaydan, *Ta'rīkh Ādāb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyah*, Cairo, 1914, vol. iv, p. 58; see also Michaud and Poujoulat, *Correspondence d'Orient*, Paris, 1834, vol. vi, p. 291.

[8] Michaud and Poujoulat, loc. cit.

on in France; this early type is easy to recognize on account of its round shape and total disregard of the Oriental idea of beautiful calligraphy.[1] The need for type more in keeping with the rules of calligraphy and the taste of the Turks was soon felt, for they used to pay more attention to calligraphy than the Egyptians.[2] Soon after the press started its activities, Senglākh Efendī al-Fārisī was appointed to assist ʿUthmān Nūr-addīn in the teaching of calligraphy, and was also charged with the task of engraving the matrices which were to be used in the press instead of those made in Europe.[3]

Senglākh's work is excellent although his name is hardly ever mentioned; specimens of his engraving can be seen in many of the Būlāḳ publications; all the headings of chapters were printed in his *taʿlīḳ*, called more popularly in Egypt *al-khaṭṭ al-fārisī*, i.e. Persian calligraphy, but as the type was rather overworked, it is very difficult to appreciate his skill from some of the later editions; the best example of his work is the *Dīwān Muḥyī-addīn b. ʿArabī*, which is almost indistinguishable from a manuscript so well is it produced. It is generally described as an extremely beautiful edition, and is consequently a rare book.[4]

The Būlāḳ Printing Press appears to have been under

[1] Examples of this type can be seen in Don Raphael's *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣibāghah*, and in his Italian–Arabic Dictionary. Perron, in his article in the *Journal Asiatique*, July-August, 1843, p. 19, writes regarding the type used in Constantinople: "Il est préféré partout à vos caratères européens qui, aux yeux des musulmans, sont trop larges, trop lâches et n'ont nullement l'allure orientale. On ne trouve de bien que le petit caractère arabe de l'Imprimerie royale de France. Tous les autres sont jugés détestables et sans grâce; leur seul aspect fait souvent refuser d'acheter les livres arabes imprimés en Europe."

[2] Most of the best calligraphists, even in Egypt, have been of Turkish origin.

[3] *Al-Hilāl*, op. cit., p. 199.

[4] Būlāḳ, 1854, *vide* Sarkīs, *Muʿjam*, p. 178. Senglākh's art and skill were used in other fields; he did the beautiful inscriptions on the tombs of the ruling family in the *Ḥosh al-Bāshā*, near the mosque of the Imām ash-Shāfiʿī. Senglākh can be considered as the creator of a new school of calligraphy in Egypt.

the nominal directorship or inspectorship of 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn, although the Syrian, Nīḳūlā Musābikī, who had been sent to Milan in 1815 for four years to learn type-founding and printing, appears to have been a kind of sub-manager [1]; in addition to Senglākh Ef., several Azharīs were attached to the press in order to learn the art of printing, amongst the latter we have the names of Shaikh 'Abdal-Bāḳī, who became head of the foundry, Shaikh Muḥammad Abū 'Abdallah, who became chief printer, and Shaikhs Yūsuf aṣ-Ṣanfī and Muḥammad Shahātah, chief compositors.[2]

Nīḳūlā Musābikī died in 1830, but even from 1821 there were several staff changes; 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn was still either acting as Director or Chief Inspector up to July, 1824; Ḳāsim Ef. al-Kīlānī [3] became *Ma'mūr* from January, 1824, to September, 1832, and 'Abdal-Karīm Ef. was Inspector from May, 1830, to March, 1835. These changes seem to suggest that Nīḳūlā was in a subordinate post while he was alive, and was probably in charge of the technical side of the work. The use of the title *Ma'mūr* suggests an administrative post, and in this capacity the official was probably responsible to Muḥammad 'Alī for the satisfactory working of the enterprise. From April, 1833, the title of *Nāẓir* was introduced, and the first man to hold this post was Sa'īd Efendī until March, 1835; it was subsequently held by Fatīḥ Efendī from May, 1833, to October, 1836; in August, 1835, Ḥusain Bey was *Mudīr*, this again is another new title, and suggests a higher grade; although Ḥusain Bey appears to have held that post until April, 1839, yet another, viz. Ḥasan Ef. was made *Mudīr* from March, 1837 to 1844. This curious overlapping of dates might suggest that some of these officials were in charge of various departments of the press or were acting as *locum tenens*.[4]

[1] Geiss, op. cit., p. 200. [2] Ibid.; also *al-Hilāl*, vol. xxii, p. 201.

[3] Al-Kīlānī also helped to make the *ta'līḳ* founts for the press; *vide Taḳwīm an-Nīl*, vol. ii, p. 401.

[4] *Al-Hilāl*, vol. xxii, p. 429.

In addition to the recorded visit of Michaud and Poujoulat in 1831, La Contemporaine also paid a visit the same year.[1] She gives all the credit of the success of the enterprise to 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn, who is supposed to have suggested the idea to Muḥammad 'Alī, which is highly possible. She suggests that there was a need of more capable employees and better supervision. She reports on another printing press in the Citadel where the *Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah* was published; this press occupied a number of rooms in which there was great activity. St. John, who visited the Citadel printing office in November, 1832,[2] confirms that the *Waḳā'i' Miṣriyah* was printed there, but states that it was " a small insignificant establishment " ; he states that the presses and other equipment were " of a very inferior description ", that there were few compositors at work, but they were, however, " rather expert and clever." The manuscripts from which they were working were written on one side, were well written, and the corrections were carefully made.

The best account of the Būlāḳ Printing Press is that written by Perron.[3] According to the regulations drawn up at the request of the ruler, anybody could have a book printed by the press provided it was paid for. The costs were worked out on a time basis ; if the book took three months to print, the editor had to pay the salaries of the various employees for the three months, plus the cost of materials to which was added 50 per cent of the total cost as profit for the government. Very few took advantage of these terms, and those who did depended on the export market to Constantinople rather than on the home market. There were possibly a few orders from North Africa.[4]

[1] *La Contemporaine en Égypte*, Paris, 1831, vol. ii, pp. 276 and 293–4.
[2] *Egypt and Muhammad Ali*, London, 1834, vol. i, pp. 129–130.
[3] Loc. cit.
[4] Ibid., p. 18.

The press was established primarily to serve the needs of the schools and the training depots [1]; government registers and stationery were also printed and prepared in the press, but after the Treaty of 1841 there was a considerable drop in the requirements for school and technical books. Illustrations for books were printed in the first place from blocks made in Paris,[2] but they were also done locally in a lithograph press attached to the Būlāḳ establishment.[3] Perron states that engraving had not yet been attempted in Būlāḳ up to 1842.[4]

Perron's list of works printed in the Būlāḳ Press between 1822 and 1842 is the best part of his study; it contains 243 items, the first being Don Raphael's *Dizionario italiano e arabo* in one volume, but Brocchi states that the first book to be printed there was in Turkish for the use of the military training centres in Upper Egypt, and that an Arabic grammar and another book on military studies translated from the French into Turkish by a certain Scianisada [Shānī Zādah] were printed before the dictionary.[5] Probably at the beginning there was no proper organization, and the books thus printed were done in a hurried and rough way for the sake of speed, and that when Perron came to make his study such works were not preserved in the Press so that he could take note of them. However, using Perron's list as the best available indication of the work done during this period, the following is a classified list according to subject for the period 1822 to 1842; the period has been divided into two parts, the first 1822 to 1830, and the second 1831 to 1842 :—

[1] Loc. cit.
[2] Amīn Pasha Sāmī, op. cit., p. 398.
[3] Perron, loc. cit.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Brocchi, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 173.

Subject	1822–1830				1831–1842			Total
	It.	T.	A.	P.	T.	A.	P.	
Military and Naval		14	3		25	6		48
Medical		1	1			13		15
Industry			1			2		3
Mathematics and Mechanics		3	1		7	5		16
Engineering						7		7
Geology						1		1
Botany						1		1
Geography						3		3
History, Turkish		2			3			5
„ European		1			7	2		10
„ Ancient Egypt						1		1
Natural History						1		1
Veterinary					1	11		12
Calendars		1	2					3
Social						2		2
Travel					1	1		2
Philosophy, History of						2		2
Dreams, Interpretation of					1			1
Agriculture					1	2		3
Administration						2		2
Encyclopædic						4		4
Dictionaries, It.-A.	1							1
„ T.-P.		1			3			4
„ T.-P.-A.					5			5
Grammar			10			11		21
Poetry		1	2	1	21		1	26
Composition		1	3		1			5
Muḥammad		2			4			6
Religion		1	1		5	5		12
Ṣufi-ism		1			3			4
Ritual					2			2
Morals					1			1
Belles Lettres				1	4	2	3	10
Education						1		1
Rhetoric						1		1
Religious Law					1	1		2
Totals	1	29	24	2	96	87	4	243
Totals		56				187		

Notes.—Reprints from works already published in Constantinople, 20. The work on Travel is the same one, the Turkish being translated from the Arabic (Rifā'ah's *Riḥlah*). Two of the Arabic works on religion are on the *Jihād*.

Resumé

It. = Italian-Arabic . . 1
T. = Turkish . . 125
A. = Arabic . . . 111
P. = Persian . . 6

It can be seen that the number of Turkish works exceeds that of the Arabic; most of the headings represent a com-

pletely new kind of literature as far as Egypt was concerned. It is significant that of the forty-eight works on military and naval subjects, thirty-nine were in Turkish, as the military profession was almost monopolized by the Turks; the military schools were essentially Turkish in character, and the Turkish language was the principal one used in them. Ten of the sixteen works on mathematics and mechanics were again in Turkish, because these subjects were generally adapted for instruction in the military schools. Fourteen of the fifteen works on medicine, however, were in Arabic because the Turks refused to take up medical studies; all the students of the Medical School were, in fact, Egyptians; the same thing applies to the Veterinary School, where eleven of the twelve works published were in Arabic. The remarkable number of Arabic grammars seems out of proportion with the total number of Arabic works, while the large number of Turkish collections of poetry indicates that Arabic poetry was not very popular with the ruling classes, although a good deal of this Turkish poetry was possibly edited for export to Turkey.

It is also worth noting that even most of the works on religious subjects (Muḥammad, ṣufi-ism, etc.), were in Turkish (twenty to seven in Arabic); two of the Arabic works on religion dealt with the virtues of the *Jihād* and were probably used by the *Imāms* of the regiments. The items under *belles lettres* are again an indication of the tastes of the time, while the majority of the historical works were in Turkish. Most of the technical works on industry, engineering, geology, botany, geography, and agriculture were in Arabic because they were required by the Egyptian students for study.

Of the thirty-two headings under which these printed works are classified, no less than fifteen represent, if not entirely new subjects, then, at least, a new approach to them. Most of them are not the original works of Turks or Egyptians, but European works that were translated into Turkish and Arabic, and it would be useful at this stage to

endeavour to give an outline of the method used for the solution of the important problem of the provision of text-books for the schools and, incidently, how Arabic was developed as a medium for dealing with modern science.

Attempts to create technical vocabularies for modern needs had been made in Constantinople from about 1780, and the work done in Egypt under Muḥammad ʿAlī was really only an extension of what had already been started in Turkey. As a proof of this we know for a fact that twenty of the early Būlāḳ editions were reprints of works done in Constantinople, four of which were dictionaries.[1] Amongst the more important translators in Constantinople can be mentioned the names of Ḥusain Rifḳī, Maḥmūd Ef., and ʿAbdar-Raḥmān Ef., who were connected with the *École de Génie* as teachers of mathematics.[2] The most celebrated, however, was Isḥāḳ Ef., who flourished under Maḥmūd II; he was a Jew who had embraced Islam and was called the "father of Turkish technology", for he became the leader of the new scientific movement. He knew Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Greek, Latin, and French, and wrote or translated eleven works on mathematics, physics, chemistry, and other subjects in which he introduced a new technical vocabulary; he was also connected with the *École de Génie,* where he was a professor and then its director.[3] It was this

[1] Nos. 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, 30, 34, 39, 50, 52, 53, 63, 76, 86, 91, 96, 101, 119, 212 of Perron's list.

[2] Hammer, *Codices Arabicos, Persicos, Turcicos, bibliothecae Caesareo regio palatiniae Vinobonensis,* Vienna, 1920; this list of works published in Constantinople between 1728 and 1820 is of interest. Hammer gave further information in his *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman,* translated by Hellert, Paris, 1839, vol. xiv, pp. 492–501, which brought it up to 1830. About one hundred works were produced altogether, 10 dictionaries, 20 religious works, 15 history, 13 grammar, 10 military, 1 medicine, 8 geometry, 1 mathematics, 1 magnetism, 2 nautical science, 3 administration, 2 logic, 1 philology, 1 rhetoric, 2 literature, 1 philosophy, 3 jurisprudence, 1 astronomy, 4 calenders, 2 geography.

[3] Franco, *Histoire et littérature juives,* Paris, 1905–6, pp. 12–13; Sureyya, *Sijil ʿUthmānī,* Constantinople, 1308, vol. i, p. 328; Fraschery, *Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire et de Géographie,* Constantinople, 1889, vol. ii, pp. 899–900; Galanté, *Turcs et Juifs,* Stambul, 1932, pp. 111–12.

Turkish school which served as a model for the Turks in Egypt for, apart from the Turkish works which were reprinted in Cairo, we have evidence of the acquisition of other works which were not reprinted.[1]

Adham, who had studied at the *École de Génie,* became one of Muḥammad 'Alī's most ardent supporters in Egypt and translated two works into Turkish from French, one on mechanics and the other on geometry. 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn drew up the code of discipline for the Navy in Turkish while Aḥmad Khalīl prepared the Military Codes. It is not certain whether Aḥmad Khalīl came from Constantinople or whether he was a member of an early education mission to Europe, but the early date of his published work suggests that he came from Constantinople. Jacovaki Argyropoulo and Ḥasan Ef. translated historical works into Turkish from the French, the former translated Castera's *Histoire de l'impératrice Catherine II de Russie,* and the latter, Botta's *Histoire d'Italie* ; the second edition of the former work was reviewed and corrected by Sa'dallah Ef. Rifā'ah's *Riḥlah* was also turned into Turkish from Arabic by Rustum Ef.

The names of the authors and translators of many of the Turkish and Arabic works are not given in Perron's list and most of the works are very hard to find as their educational value has long ceased to exist, and a suitable public library where they could have been preserved was not established until too late. A few of the military books exist in the Cairo Library, but they are not the best specimens for linguistic research, and in any case they are not catalogued. The translation service in Egypt was not systematically organized ; the Arabic work started between 1816 and 1820, and one of the first to translate from European languages into Arabic was Don Raphael.[2] His Italian-Arabic Dictionary mentioned

[1] Royal Archives, *Daftar No. 22, letter No. 202.*

[2] Charles Bachatly, "Un membre oriental du premier institut d'Égypte, Don Raphael," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte,* vol. xii, 1935, pp. 237–260 ; also "Un manuscrit autographe de Don Raphael," op. cit., vol. xiii, 1931, pp. 27–35.

above consisted of 270 pages in two parts, the first part containing the vocabulary (200 pages) and the second part (70 pages) containing a classified vocabulary to facilitate the learning of Italian and reference. Don Raphael also translated into Arabic Macquer's *L'Art de la teinture en soie* and Machiavelli's *Principe*; the latter is not published but is preserved in manuscript form in the Cairo Library. A French medical work by Vacca was translated into Arabic and published in 1826 in two volumes; it was probably done by Don Raphael as there was no Egyptian or Turk capable of doing such work at this early date.[1] Don Raphael had been transferred from the Būlāḳ School to the Medical School, where he was employed as a translator and teacher of physiology[2]; Gaetani, who had been a student of Vacca, also taught physiology in the Medical School, a fact which might indicate that Raphael was responsible for this translation in collaboration with Gaetani.

Although some work had been done in Constantinople on technology and though the school of translators under Isḥāḳ Efendī had given the Egyptian school a good lead, there was still much to be done, especially in view of the fact that the Egyptians attempted a much larger field than the Turks. A great deal had to be done to find suitable men; but in the initial stages 'Uthmān Nūr-addīn, a first-rate all-round man, did all he could to solve the difficulties; he appears to have received some help from the young Arabist, Koenig.[3] One of Muḥammad 'Alī's greatest problems was

[1] Called *fī uṣūl al-'ulūm aṭ-ṭibbiyah*, Perron's list, work No. 21.

[2] Bachatly, op. cit., where he gives an excellent account of Don Raphael's life.

[3] Planat, *Histoire de la Régénération de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1830, pp. 93–4: "La patience de M. Koenig, jeune orientaliste, fit triompher des premiers embarras; ce fut lui qui traduisit, après bien des recherches, tous les termes techniques dont on avait besoin en turc; et comme une grande partie de ces mots n'existait pas Osman Bey ('Uthmān Nūr-addīn) les composa par le secours de la langue arabe, et les fit accepter dans les écoles", *vide* also Cadalvene and Breuvery, *L'Égypte et la Turquie*, Paris, 1836, p. 126.

to find the right type of educated man to perform the task of translating European works into Arabic and Turkish. He endeavoured to solve the linguistic difficulties by ordering his Turkish officials to learn Arabic in order to do without interpreters,[1] but in spite of that order he made Turkish the official language in the very schools which produced these officials. He tried to make the European professors in the School of Medicine learn Arabic in order to do without interpreters and intermediaries, but they refused on the ground that they had come to Egypt to serve as doctors and to teach medicine and not to learn Arabic.[2] With a view to making the most of some of his foreign officials, Muḥammad 'Alī gave orders that each should have a clerk or interpreter in his employ who should do nothing else but translate European books into Arabic or Turkish for use in the services or the schools.[3] Arabic military books were translated from the Turkish with no attempt to create a new set of Arabic military technical terms, for the Turkish ones were used and were continued in use until very recently. Egyptians who were employed in the Būlāḳ Printing Press had to learn Turkish in order to fulfil their tasks properly.

When it was decided to take up non-military studies such as medicine, botany, chemistry, physics, etc., for Egyptian students, it was realized that a more determined and systematic attempt had to be made to create technical vocabularies in order to enable the translators to cope with the technical terms they found in the European works.

[1] Royal Archives, *Daftar No. 6, Document No. 702*, dated the 7th Dhī'l-Ḥijja 1236 (4th September, 1821).

[2] *Daftar No. 61, letter No. 281*, dated the 28th Rajab 1251 (20th November, 1835).

[3] *Daftar No. 16, letter No. 92*, dated 16th Rabī' I, 1239 (20th November, 1823), where Giovanni was ordered to translate medical works in this way; *vide* also *Taḳwīm an-Nīl*, vol. ii, pp. 427 and 434, where Kiānī Bey and Ḥasan were attached to Sulaimān Pasha to translate a work on manœuvres which he had compiled from various sources; for other references of this kind, *vide* ibid, pp. 396, 406, 425, 448, and 455.

While the Būlāḳ Printing Press dealt with a great number of the works which had to be published, Muḥammad 'Alī wisely gave to some of the more important schools lithograph presses of their own on which they could print the technical works which the staff and students had translated for their own use. The Military Schools at Ṭurā and al-Gīzah,[1] the Medical [2] and the Engineering Schools [3] were all provided for in this way. The Military Schools with Turkish as their principal language had not the same obstacles to overcome as the Medical and Engineering Schools, which had to create an entirely new technical language before they could attempt to put their studies on a sound basis.

The teaching method employed in these Schools shows the extent of the difficulties to be solved; the teachers prepared their lectures in a European language, either French or Italian; these lectures were then translated into Arabic by one of the interpreters on the staff of the school who, after checking the work with the European teacher, read it out to the students in class. Amongst these early translators or interpreters we find the names of several Syrians but no Egyptians. Besides Don Raphael, who knew Italian and French, there was Ḥanna (or Yohanna) 'Anḥūrī who knew Italian, but as many of the books he translated were in French, they had to be put into Italian for his benefit before he could translate them into Arabic.[4] 'Anḥūrī worked in the School of Medicine with Clot Bey, Perron, and others; seven translations into Arabic are attributed to him. Yūsuf Fira'aun was another Syrian who worked in the Veterinary School under Hamont; he knew French and could translate into Arabic without any intermediary. He appears to have been able to translate into Turkish as well; twelve translations are

[1] Sarhank, *Ḥaḳā'iḳ al-Akhbār 'an Duwal al-Biḥār*, Cairo, 1894–1923, ii, p. 237.

[2] St. John, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 402, and Perron, op. cit., p. 6.

[3] Perron, op. cit., p. 59, and Pellissier, *Rapport adressé à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction et des Cultes*, Paris, 1849.

[4] Perron, op. cit., Nos. 73, 87, 92, 160, and 219.

attributed to him. We meet also the names of Georges Vidal, Augustus Sakākīnī, and Yaʿḳūb, all Syrians who helped in this task of building up this new Arabic literature.

One of the first books to be printed in the School of Medicine at Abū Zaʿbal was Clot Bey's *al-Ḳaul aṣ-Ṣarīḥ fī ʿIlm at-Tashrīḥ* (on anatomy) in 1832 [1]; between 1832 and 1849 over fifty works connected with medical and scientific subjects were translated into Arabic by the Staff of the School of Medicine, forming over ninety volumes, but not all of them were printed. The above work is attributed to Clot Bey, which at once raises the question regarding the actual translator of this work. Clot Bey certainly could not translate into Arabic. The only European on the staff who might have known Arabic well enough to translate into that language was Perron, who is also credited with having translated medical and scientific works into Arabic, but this suggests a system which did not exist, as very few of the translations could be attributed to anyone as his own work.

The method employed in translating these works is interesting and makes the task of textual criticism rather difficult. The teachers, it is true, produced some kind of work in their own language which was passed on to the translators (ʿAnḥūrī, Firaʿaun, Sakākīnī, Vidal, or Yaʿḳūb), who, with the help of the original writer, translated the work into Arabic. The main task of the translator seems to have been to achieve a readable version for class use, but not good enough for publication. Before the work could be accepted by the press, it had to be reviewed by an editor (*muḥarrir*) whose duty it was to correct the translation and to check over the technical terms; the invention of the terms was often left to the translator, but the *muḥarrir* had the task of advising on their suitability according to the standards of the Arabic language. The *muḥarrir's* version was then checked by a corrector

[1] Zaydān, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 188 and 191; also Sarkīs, op. cit., p. 1567. Vacca's work is not mentioned by Clot Bey.

(*muṣaḥḥiḥ*), whose duty it was to see that the whole work was written in good literary Arabic; both editors and correctors were *shaikhs* of al-Azhar; their tasks were not always distinguished. The creation of these technical terms and new turns of phrase in the School of Medicine must be considered one of the most important contributions to learning during the whole of the Muḥammad 'Alī period, if not the nineteenth century. The lack of such terms, or, rather, the ignorance of the Arabic equivalents of European terms was, indeed, a great obstacle, and the way it was overcome was remarkable.

Credit has always been given to the translators, whether they were the original Syrians or the later *efendīs* who graduated from Muḥammad 'Alī's schools or European universities, but hardly anything is ever said about the Azharī *shaikhs*, who were men of sound Muslim erudition who had kept up the tradition of Muslim learning and were well versed in Arabic and in its old scientific literature. The reason for selecting such men was not in order to give the work the sanction of the competent linguistic authorities; there was no one else available who had the required knowledge of the Arabic language. All these *muḥarrirs* and *muṣaḥḥiḥs* were in a position of inferiority in the schools in which they worked. Among these editors and correctors the name of Muḥammad 'Imrān al-Hirrāwī is met with very frequently; for example, he edited the work entitled *al-Ḳaul aṣ-Ṣarīḥ fī 'Ilm at-Tashrīḥ* attributed to Clot Bey and translated by 'Anhūrī [1]; al-Hirrāwī also edited Sakākīnī's work, but he co-operated mostly with 'Anḥūrī. Al-Hirrāwī occasionally clashed with Clot Bey, and once he was severely reprimanded by Muḥammad 'Alī on account of his disagreeable conduct.[2]

Muṣṭafā Ḥasan Kassāb was another editor who used to

[1] Sarkīs, op. cit., p. 1567, and Zaydān, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 205. The work appears to have been Begin's *Éléments de Chirurgie*, with some additional notes by Clot Bey.

[2] *Taḳwīm an-Nīl*, vol. ii, 451, in September, 1936.

co-operate with Fira'aun,[1] but the most important figure of this group was Shaikh Muḥammad 'Umar at-Tūnisī (pronounced Tunsī) (d. 1857).[2] He was born in Tunis of an Egyptian mother whom at-Tūnisī's father had married while he was a student in the mosque of al-Azhar. Shaikh Muḥammad made a voyage to the Sūdān and wrote an excellent account of it, a work which was translated into French by Perron. On his return to Egypt he joined al-Azhar, and eventually found employment in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force to Morea under Ibrāhīm Pasha. At the end of this campaign, he was appointed on the staff of the School of Medicine as an editor. His specialities were language, literature, and the traditional scientific works, and it was due to his excellent example that the rest of the translators and *efendīs* were able to combine their efforts and to form a kind of Arabic Academy where they co-operated to find the proper Arabic equivalents of the European technical terms or to coin new ones; at-Tūnisī's knowledge, taste, and judgment always gave him the place of authority in this sphere.[3]

At first this task was confined to the translations in hand and the technical terms used in a particular work were collected into a glossary which was printed either at the end or at the beginning of the text. In due course, however, when the translating and editing staff gained sufficient experience and confidence in themselves, they began to attempt more ambitious tasks, one of which was the translating of Nysten's medical dictionary in one volume and then Fabre's *Dictionnaire des Dictionnaires de Médecine* in eight volumes. This excellent work eventually served as the work of reference for all the technical needs of the School of Medicine; it was called *Kitāb ash-Shudhūr adh-Dhahabiyah fi'l-Alfāẓ aṭ-Ṭibbiyah*, and included medical, botanical, zoological, and other scientific

[1] Zaydān, op. cit., vol. iv, p. 206.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Paton, *History of the Egyptian Revolution*, London, 1870, vol. ii, p. 270.

terms. Clot Bey had the dictionary sent from France and divided it among the scholars under the chief editorship of at-Tūnisī.[1] By this time several of the Egyptian medical students had returned from Paris and were able to co-operate with at-Tūnisī and his colleagues; they were Ibrāhīm an-Nabarāwī, Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī, Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad ash-Shabāsī, Muṣṭafā as-Subkī, 'Isawī an-Nahrāwī, as-Sayyid Aḥmad ar-Rashīdī, Ḥusain Ghānim ar-Rashīdī, and Ḥusain 'Alī. By the time the task was finished, Perron was director of the School, and he ordered the compilers to collect similar technical terms from Arabic dictionaries, philological works, and treatises on science; included among the latter at-Tūnisī gives the name of the popular *Tadhkirat Dā'ūd* [2]; he also added the names of the drugs which he had collected while he was in the Sūdān. The terms were all arranged in alphabetical order according to the European system, and carefully checked by at-Tūnisī with the help of Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'ī, who was sub-director of the School at the time.

Unfortunately, with the breakdown of Muḥammad 'Alī's system and the subsequent loss of interest taken in medical studies, the Arabic dictionary, the labour of so many Egyptian scholars, was taken away by the disappointed Clot, who presented it to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris on the 9th September, 1851. It may have been fortunate for the dictionary to have found a home in Paris as it would have been lost in Cairo. It is sad that at-Tūnisī's work has been so neglected. Even the present Director-General of the School of Medicine in Cairo, who is a collector of old medical works and theses of early Egyptian medical scholars, knew nothing about this valuable dictionary until the present writer pointed out its importance in March, 1936. Muḥammad Bey Sharaf, the compiler of *An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences*, made no attempt to use

[1] p. 3 of manuscript in my possession.
[2] Ibid., p. 4.

this work although two photographic copies were then in existence in the Cairo Library.

The contents of this dictionary have been examined with various Egyptian medical scholars and scientists, who have all appreciated the skilful manner in which at-Tūnisī and his colleagues endeavoured to solve their difficulties. Two other names must be mentioned in connection with the collecting of the technical terms from Arabic sources, viz. Shaikh Sālim 'Awaḍ, a *muṣaḥḥiḥ*, and Shaikh 'Alī al-'Idwī. It is most significant that this work was the outcome of the combined labours of the best of the old Azharī school, and the pick of the new generation of Azharī students who had been made to join the School of Medicine by Muḥammad 'Alī and then sent to France to complete their studies.

Another well known *muṣaḥḥiḥ* was Shaikh Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūḳī; he was an Azharī and was first of all employed in the School of Medicine with al-Hirrāwī; from there he was transferred to the School of Engineering as the Chief *muṣaḥḥiḥ* where he became responsible for a large number of the corrected versions of the books on mathematics; this *shaikh* became the friend of Lane and helped him with his great work on lexicography.[1] Other well-known *muṣaḥḥiḥs* were Shaikh Muḥammad Muḥarram, who generally worked with an-Nabarāwī; Shaikh Ḥusain 'Abdal-Laṭīf al-Isnāwī, who specialized in correcting works on anatomy; Shaikh Khalīl al-Ḥanafī, who had a good knowledge of Arabic technology; Shaikhs 'Abdar-Raḥmān aṣ-Ṣaftī, Muḥammad Hudhud, Muḥammad 'Ayyād aṭ-Ṭanṭāwī, and 'Abdal-Mun'im al-Girgāwī who worked in the School of Medicine from November, 1832.[2] Even after the return of the technical men from Europe, these *shaikhs* still continued their work of editing, as it was rightly considered highly specialized work. These Egyptians gradually formed an important school of translation which superseded the original Syrian group.

[1] Paton, op. cit., p. 268.

[2] *Taḳwīm an-Nīl*, vol. ii, p. 461.

The Egyptian medical scholars turned out a huge amount of material for correction; they often translated the works of the European teachers in Cairo, as some of their lectures were specially adapted to the particular conditions of the country, but a great many important medical works of European scholars were translated for reference in the School or for use as text-books. Aḥmad Ḥasan ar-Rashīdī appears to have been about the only scholar who could be relied upon to turn out a correct text without the aid of a corrector; he was very thorough and is credited with eleven major works; he even acted as a *muṣaḥḥiḥ* for his colleagues who had not his talents for writing Arabic; he certainly corrected the work of 'Alī Haibah and translated Clot's works on gynæcology and dermatology. Ar-Rashīdī's *'Umdat al-Muḥtāj fī'Ilmai'l-Adwiyah wa'l-'Ilāj* in four large volumes, published posthumously in 1866, indexed by Dr. Ḥusain 'Audah, is a medical encyclopædia of great value which is much sought after all over the Arabic-speaking world.

Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḳlī translated four works on surgery, three of which were published; al-Baḳlī was engaged on two other important works on legal and political terms, but he died before finishing them; he was the founder and joint editor of the Medical Journal called *Ya'sūb aṭ-Ṭibb*, established in 1865; the other editor was Lane's friend, Shaikh Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūḳī. Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'ī, whose work was reviewed by at-Tūnisī, had four of his translations published; his *as-Sirāj al-Wahhāj fi't-Tashkhīṣ wa'l-'Ilāj* and *Aḥsan al-Aghrāḍ fī't-Tashkhīṣ wa Mu'ālajāt al-Amrāḍ* became standard works and were of an encyclopædic nature, each of them containing four large volumes. Ash-Shabāsī had two works published on anatomy, an-Nahrāwī only one on the same subject. Ḥasan Ghānim ar-Rashīdī wrote a volume on pharmaceutics and collaborated with at-Tūnisī on the translation of Figari's work on botany. Other translators were Muḥammad 'Abdal-Fattāḥ, who is credited with eight works, mainly on veterinary science; some of his work was

corrected by Kassāb; 'Alī Haibah translated two works on physiology and a third on maternity; in the works on physiology, he was helped by 'Anḥūrī and Muḥammad Muḥarram and then corrected by Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūḳī; ar-Rashīdī corrected the work on maternity. Aḥmad Nadā is credited with eight works on botany, geology, zoology, agriculture, and chemistry. Aḥmad Bakhīt also worked with Clot Bey, although there is no record of any published work; Ḥasanain 'Alī, 'Uthmān Ibrāhīm, Muṣṭafā as-Subkī, Ḥusain 'Auf, Muṣṭafā al-Wāṭī, Badawī Sālim are all supposed to have collaborated with Clot Bey on the production of medical works, but few of them were published.

Two other schools contributed considerably towards this new scientific and literary movement, viz. the School of Engineering and the School of Languages, whose teachers produced a large number of works on mathematics, astronomy, geodesy, and allied subjects. The most important figures were Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī,[1] Muḥammad al-Baiyūmī, Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān, and Muṣṭafā Bahjat. Muḥammad al-Baiyūmī had five works on algebra, geometry, and trigonometry published in the Būlāḳ Printing Press,[2] Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān also had five works published on geodesy and geometry, three by the Būlāḳ press and two by the School of Engineering press. Muṣṭafā Bahjat's speciality was map-making; several of his maps are preserved in the Ministry of Public Works in Cairo. Amongst the other translators, the name of 'Iṣmat might be mentioned; he specialized in translating Turkish works into Arabic.

The same method of correcting the translations was in use at these two schools but there was no combined effort made to compile a dictionary of technical terms. As an example of this method Ramaḍān's *Takhṭīṭ al-Arāḍī*,[3] translated from the French by the order of Adham, was

[1] *Vide BSOS.*, vol. ix, part 4, and vol. x, part 2.
[2] Sarkīs, op. cit., p. 622.
[3] Būlāḳ, 1844.

corrected by Shaikh Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūḳī, then compared and checked with the original work by Abū's-Su'ūd Efendī [1]; it was checked a second time by al-Baiyūmī, and still a third time in the press by Ḥasan Ef. al-Jubailī. The Arabic of as-Sayyid 'Imārah 'Abdal-'Āl's *Kitāb Tahdhīb al-'Ibārāt fī Fann Akhdh al-Misāḥāt* on surveying was corrected by Shaikh Muḥammad Ḳuṭṭah al-'Idwī; the technical terms were reviewed and corrected by al-Baiyūmī with the help of Rifā'ah. Al-Baiyūmī's *Kitāb 'Ilm al-Jabr* (algebra) was corrected by Shaikh Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūḳī. The translators often collaborated in order to produce scientific works; both Ramaḍān and Manṣūr 'Azmī produced an Arabic version of a work on applied geometry and al-Baiyūmī with Aḥmad Ṭawīl produced another on mechanics. The following names also figure in this huge task of the creation of a new scientific language: Aḥmad Daḳalah, Aḥmad Fā'id, Aḥmad Ṭā'il (or Ṭāwil), 'Alī 'Izzat, 'Āmir Sa'd, Ḥusain 'Alī ad-Dīk, Muḥammad ash-Shīmī, 'Alī Badawī, and Maḥmūd Aḥmad. Pellissier states that the lithograph press of the School of Engineering turned out about twenty-five works in Arabic, among which he mentions Despretz's *Familles chimiques*, Olivier's *Géométrie descriptive*, Boubée's *Géologie*, and Francœur's *Astronomie* and *Géodésie* [2]; Bowring gives the names of twenty-three French works, some of which were translated and others about to be translated by the staff of the School of Engineering.[3]

The School of Languages produced something like seventy translators and writers between 1836 and 1846 under the very able direction of Rifā'ah. This institution must be considered as the most important from the purely literary point of view, for it produced the first translation of books on French law, particularly commercial law, and excellent

[1] Abū's-Su'ūd was one of the leading figures of his time; he was the editor of the *Wādī an-Nīl*, established in 1866.
[2] Pellissier, op. cit., p. 7.
[3] Bowring, *Report on Egypt*, London, 1840, p. 144.

versions of well known French works on history, geography, philosophy, mineralogy, education, and some French classics. As examples of the quantity of works turned out the following names are sufficient: Rifā'ah had over thirty works published, Ṣāliḥ Majdī and Abū's-Su'ūd published nine each, Khalīfah Maḥmūd produced five, Muḥammad Ḳadrī had six works published, while 'Uthmān Jalāl had ten to his credit. In addition to these famous names in Modern Arabic literature, we must not forget that the poet, Ibrāhīm Marzūḳ, was educated under Rifā'ah in this school, and that both Abū's-Su'ūd and 'Uthmān Jalāl were amongst the first newspaper editors and proprietors in the country.

The last years of Muḥammad 'Alī's reign were not very productive in literature and translations and during the reigns of 'Abbās I and Sa'īd, the literary effort was almost confined to 'Alī Mubārak. It was not until the reign of Ismā'īl Pasha that literature and science began to receive the fuller attention and appreciation of the people, especially the Azharīs, to some extent through the encouragement of the ruler but mainly through European example and increased contact with Europe. Between 1863 and 1879, Europeans opened about one hundred and thirty schools in Egypt; this alone should have had a very serious influence on the social and cultural life of the Egyptians. The Egyptian Government opened a number of schools and private individuals established Arabic newspapers and periodicals, and the need felt for modern books brought to light the literary and scientific achievements of the Muḥammad 'Alī period, when the people were better able to appreciate it and to consider it as something not necessarily bound to a military system. If it had not been for the heavy work done during this early period, education and literature would not have made the progress they did under Ismā'īl Pasha.
466.

Symbols of Parentage in Archaic Chinese

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE III)

Part I

A FEW lines of introduction to the following paper seem advisable before presenting to readers of the *Journal* a summary of an essay by that ultra-modern Chinese scholar, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo. On the other hand it may be that the limited but steadily growing body of students of Chinese art and archæology in America and Europe will, so to speak, sniff at any "introduction" to Mr. Kuo. However, let it go. In brief the author is deeply versed in the history no less than the writing of ancient China, equally so as these are disclosed on the multitudinous bronze vessels, and on those fragmentary entries on the broken pieces of bone and tortoise-shell which are known as the "oracular sentences", or *pu tz'ŭ* by the Chinese epigraphists. Nor is Mr. Kuo unacquainted with (nor, I think, uninfluenced by) Western literature on the subjects relevant to his own researches, as I infer from the several German authors whom he mentions by name.

The essay here summarized, though imperfectly, is the first in the first part of a collection entitled *Chia Ku Wên Tz'ŭ Yen Chiu*, or An Examination of the Inscriptions on Tortoiseshell and Bone.

It will be a convenient starting-point in this survey to understand Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's contention that the term *tsu pi* which he uses in the title of his essay has not been correctly appreciated by previous writers, inasmuch as the Honan relics show, he says, that this phrase among the Yin had a different value to that current under their Chou successors. Among the former all males could be styled *tsu* 祖, and all females *pi* 妣, which fact shows, he says, that the Yin use

of the term *tsu pi* differed to some extent from that among the Chou.

This being ascertained, what then, he asks, was the origin of this term *tsu pi*? The answer is that 祖 *tsu* and 妣 *pi* were the first characters of the words now written 牡 *mou* and 牝 *p'in*, male and female.

(That is how Kuo, writing for Chinese readers puts it, but what he means to be understood is that the two types shown on Plate III were the earliest forms of the later compound characters 牡 *mou* and 牝 *p'in* or *pi*.)

In the oracular sentences these characters 牡 and 牝, *mou* and *p'in*, male and female, have not one single and exclusive form, but ox, sheep, dog, hog, horse, and deer, all have their natural shapes according to their kind, and the sex determinative is not restricted to the 牛 *niu*, ox, alone. This he shows by the following series of figures: First, males,

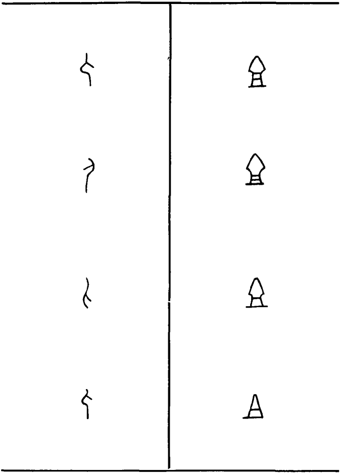
 ox,  ram,  hog, and  stag.

The figures for stallion and dog, are, as he points out, not found on the Honan bones. But I would here call attention to the character 駔 *tsang* recorded in the *Shuo Wen* (in the Elder Hsü's Edition) as 牡 馬 *mou ma*, a male horse. This should have inferred as the ancient contracted combined form on the Bones some such character as , which has not yet been found.[1]

Second, females,  mare,  cow,  ewe,  bitch, and  sow. Kuo observes that though no example of hind can be cited from the Honan relics, the Stone

[1] Kuo does not mention the character 駔 *tsang*, though it is interesting in itself, and if this sound and meaning are authentic, very relevant to his own theory of the true origin of 且 *tsu*. The *Shuo Wen's* present text gives the meaning as 壯 馬 *chuang ma*, a powerful horse, and analyses it as composed of 馬 *ma* and 且 as the phonetic, which should normally give *tsu*, not *tsang*, as the sound of 駔. I must leave the doubt as to the original sound unresolved.

妣 *pi* 祖 *tsu*



EXAMPLES OF *TSU* AND *PI* FROM THE HONAN BONES

[*Facing p.* 352.

Drums afford a contemporary confirmation in  modern 麀 *yu*, hind, where the *Liu Shu Ku* is wrong in describing the lowest element as 子 *tzŭ*, the fawn.

In view of the above pictographic examples containing the figures 丄 and 匕, I hold, continues Kuo, that these latter are contractions of the characters 祖 *tsu* and 妣 *pi*. The ancient scription of 祖 was *not* composed with 示 *shih*, nor was 妣 *pi* composed with 女 *nü*, woman. Here is a table of the characters 祖 妣 *tsu pi* as these are found in the oracular sentences. See Plate III.

Thus then, the 且 *tsu* was an actual pictogram of the male organ 牡 器 *mou ch'i*, and so could be contracted to 丄, while 匕 *pi* had the shape of a 匕 柶 *pi ssŭ*, or spoon, by extension of the sense, and in virtue of the resemblance of the female organ to a spoon, 蓋 以 牝 器 似 匕 *kai i p'in ch'i ssŭ pi*, the character 匕 *pi* was used for 妣 *pi* or 牝 *p'in*, female.[1]

At this stage of Kuo's argument a surprising expansion of its scope is sprung upon the reader by attributing a novel origin to two simple and well-known characters, 土 *t'u*, earth, and 士 *shih*, variously rendered by officer, scholar, or, as Mr. Waley prefers, knight. As to these, I would point out that Mr. Kuo's suggestion of their formal origin does not hinge upon the correctness of his theory of the phallic value of the character 且 *tsu*, ancestor. It is quite possible to accept the latter without prejudice to his claim as to *t'u*, earth, and *shih*, knight. For my own part, I accept his explanation of *tsu*, ancestor, though I once inclined to see in this character the semblance of a wooden ancestral tablet.

Returning to Kuo's argument at a point where he quotes a passage from the well-known critic, Mr. Wang Kuo-wei, this, in summary, runs as follows. Wang, in discussing the structure of the character 牡 *mou*, disputed the *Shuo Wên's*

[1] As Kanghsi, citing the Chi Yün 集 韻, points out, *pi* is a less usual sound of the normal *p'in*.

analysis of 牛 *niu*, ox, with 土 *t'u*, earth, as the phonetic. He points out that in the oracular sentences, the figure ⊥, and not 土 *t'u*, appears as the second element of 牡 *mou*, and ⊥ he asserts is the early form of 士 *shih*, officer, knight, and further, adduces from the *Shuo Wen* the alleged cryptic aphorism of Confucius, 推十合一爲士 *t'ui shih ho i wei shih*. But whatever symbolic verity the Master may have deduced in this dark saying from the construction of the character 士 *shih*, he clearly held the latter to be composed of the elements *ten* and *one* (十 and 一), as it was in the Lesser Seal and as it still is. Now, Wang points out, this figure ⊥ is precisely a combination of the *ancient* scription of 10, namely | *shih*, with 一 *i*, one. And he adds, what to me at least seems to be little relevant, that the *ku yin* 古音 ancient sound of 士 *shih* fell under the first group of Tuan Yü-ts'ai's Rhyme Categories, and 牡 *mou* under the third, the final sounds of the two being, Wang says, very near, 音最相近, *yin tsui hsiang chin*. And the same character 牡 *mou*, having as its phonetic, according to Wang, the element 士 *shih*, thus combines the attributes of a Phonetic Compound and a Suggestive Complex. And this same scholar concludes his argument thus: *Shih* 士 was the term applied to males, and in ancient times was mostly used in the disyllabic expression 士女 *shih nü*, lads and lasses. *Mou* 牡 being composed with 士 *shih* (in Wang Kuo-wei's view), corresponds with 牝 *p'in*, composed with 匕 *pi*, and 匕 *pi* equals 比 *pi*, to match, to mate, and 比於牡也 *pi yü mou yeh*, is to match, mate with, a male.

Kuo Mo-jo, however, takes exception to some of Wang Kuo-wei's assertions, objecting that the statement that "匕 *pi* is equivalent to 比 *pi*" (匕者比也 *pi chê pi yeh*), is a doctrine of comparatively late times. For, Kuo holds, in the matriarchal stage of society, 牡 *mou*, the male, was still not qualified to be the equal of 牝 *p'in*, the female, rather it was that the female mated with the male. Further, the explanation of "ten added to one makes a *shih*", 士,

scholar or knight, was also certainly not the primitive idea of a 士, 亦必非士之初意 *i pi fei shih chih ch'u i*. The Master's idea was probably that the doctrine of the knight and gentleman was that of reducing the complex to the simple, 謂士君子之道由博返約 *wei shih chün tzŭ chih tao yu po fan yo*. But the sense of 士 *shih* as that of the expression 士女 *shih nü*, lads and lasses, existed long before that of knight and gentleman. And so the latter, like that other saying of the Master's that One piercing three makes a Wang or Prince, — 貫三爲王 *i kuan san wei wang*, cannot escape the criticism that as explanations both make the look of a character suggest its meaning, 望文生義 *wang wên shêng i*. If 丄 really were a combination of *ten* with *one*, why should not 土 *t'u* equally have the same explanation ? In my opinion, Kuo continues, the original forms of 土 *t'u*, earth, 且 *tsu*, ancestor, and 士 *shih*, officer, were actually alike in being pictograms of the male organ (據余所見土且士實同爲牡器之象形).

On the oldest Bronzes 土 *t'u*, earth is written , and on the Bones , closely resembling  *tsu* in shape, and from a phonetic viewpoint *t'u* and *tsu*, again, fall under the same rhyme-group (Tuan Yü-ts'ai's fifth category, 魚 *yü*). Here, our author makes the, to me, arresting statement, which, however, he takes easily in his stride, that 土 *t'u* is the ancient character for 社 *shê*, 而土爲古社字 *erh t'u wei ku shê tzŭ*, worship on the inner situation being 祖 *tsu*, and on the outer 社 *shê*, the *tsu* and the *shê* being two, and yet not two but one, as he puts it, 祖與社二而一者也 *tsu yü shê erh erh i chê yeh*.

Kuo now takes up the oldest scriptions of 士 *shih*. This character, he admits, is not found by itself in the oracular sentences, but as a component in compound characters, besides the form  (virtually the modern 吉 *chi*, auspicious), there are a number of variants, such as , , , . Hence the character 士 *shih* in early times had the shapes , , , or . On the Bronzes we find 吉 *chi* written  or ,

like the 𠂤 form of the Honan bones. In point of form these forms with 土 *t'u* and 且 *tsu*, do not differ in effect, 與土且實無二致 *yü t'u tsu shih wu erh chih.* Kuo enters here on a highly technical phonetic discussion of the ancient sounds and rhymes of Chinese words, which to my mind has little real bearing on his main thesis, but his conclusion on this head is that the antithetic pair 士女 *shih nü*, lads and lasses, is really the quivalent of either of the corresponding couples, 牡牝 *mou p'in*, male and female, or 祖妣 *tsu pi*, progenitor and progenitress, and that with the Yin people a masculine name 祖 *tsu*, So-and-so, and a feminine name 妣 *pi*, So-and-so, are mere indications of difference of sex, 殆以表示性別而已 *tai i piao shih hsing pieh erh i.*

Mr. Kuo then goes on to deduce from his discovery that the old shapes of the *tsu* and *pi* are the original figures of male and female sex, certain far-reaching conclusions. These are that we can also discern the true origin of the ancient practice not only of the veneration of ancestors, but also that of all kinds of religious doctrine, 及一切神道設教之古習 *chi i ch'ieh shên tao shê chiao chih ku hsi.* For in high antiquity a man knew his own mother but not his father, let alone his father's mother or his father's father. However, here is something tangible that shows what was the first parentage of the human race, namely the respective physical differentiæ of the two sexes. 然此有物焉可知其爲人世之初祖者，則牝牡二器是也 *jan tz'ŭ yu wu yen k'o chih ch'i wei jên shih chih ch'u tsu chê, tsê p'in mou erh ch'i shih yeh.*[1]

That the cult of Fertility and the human race itself grew up almost together is shown by the fact that in the Western world artefacts[2] belonging to the Neolithic and Palæolithic periods have already come to light, amply proving the

[1] The author's text is more plain spoken.

[2] Kuo here uses the expression 器物 *ch'i wu*, usually "vessels" or "implements", but the context implies and his argument requires that phallic objects are meant.

existence of the cult in remote antiquity, and that Chinese archæology has not entirely freed itself from the region of Fable. But the elder classical scholars also regard this topic as improper, and one to be tabooed in the highest degree, 而縉紳先生亦視此事爲不雅馴而諱莫如深, *erh chin shên hsien shêng i shih tz'ŭ shih wei pu ya hsün erh hui mo ju shên.*

Apart from the Stone Age evidence, there are in classical literature a number of confirmations which have never been subjected to expurgation, 未經剔發 *wei ching t'i fa.* Such evidences, the author says, relate to religion in general, and to the phrase *tsu pi* in particular, these two topics becoming mutually confirmatory. He proceeds to illustrate this thesis by examining under four heads, the ancient forms of a number of characters. The first of these chosen by Kuo Mo-jo is 示 *shih.*

From ancient times characters relating to matters of religious worship have mostly embodied the element 示 *shih.* The *Shuo Wên's* entry under that head is, " Heaven suspends Forms which exhibit Good and Evil, whereby to instruct men. The character is composed of 二 and three pendants  *san ch'ui,* the sun, the moon, and the stars. To look up at the shapes in the heavens and thereby discover the times and seasons, thus are revealed things supernatural. 示神事也 *shih shên shih yeh. Shih* is (or means) things supernatural.  is the ancient scription of 示." The above passage, comments Kuo, is an explanation due to the honour and glory of religious worship, as it is called, 所謂光明崇拜之說 *so wei kuang ming ch'ung pai chih shuo.* But in the oracular sentences the character 示 *shih* is mostly written in the form , the upper part of the former is not always 二, nor the lower part always three hanging strokes, for there are sometimes as many as three or four such pendant strokes. Thus the word 祝 *chu,* to invoke, appears sometimes as , and 祀 *ssŭ,* to offer sacrifice, sometimes appears as

 or , and on an early Bronze, the word 宗 *tsung*, ancestry, appears as . As to these forms [on the Bones], the element 丅 is actually an 丄 inverted, and the lateral pendant strokes are shaped like feathers 迺毛形也 *nai mao hsing yeh*. Again, 示 *shih* on the old Bronzes is found with the central pendant written with a "swollen pen", 肥筆作者 *fei pi tso chê*, thus , or , viz. 宗 *tsung*. From another Yin Bronze (so Kuo classes it) he cites the character 祝 *chu*, to invoke, written with the same "swollen pen", , and compares this with examples of the same word *chu* from the Honan Bones  and  (I would add a very clearly and finely cut example from a cowrie in my collection, considerably enlarged from the original, ). "That these are pictograms is still more obvious, and shows that my explanation of them is no random guess, 余說之非妄誕矣 *yü shuo chih fei wang tan i*."

And what is this explanation of our author that is not a random guess? It is that when we have accepted the pictographic quality of the several characters under discussion, we can see how it befalls that in the oracular sentences the term 示 *shih* is used alike concerning the spiritual beings of Heaven, the Earth Spirit, and the discarnate spirits of men 天神地祇人鬼 *t'ien shên ti ch'i jên kuei*. For the first intention of this figure 示 *shih* was the image or icon of the god of Fertility. And again, all characters composed with 示 *shih*, once this idea is grasped, suddenly become as clear as day. Thus 宗 *tsung* is the place where the image of this divinity is worshipped, 宗即祀此神象之地 *tsung chi ssŭ tz'ŭ shên hsiang chih ti*; 祀 *ssŭ* depicts a man kneeling before this image, 祀象人跪於此神象之前 *ssŭ hsiang jên kuei yü tz'ŭ shên hsiang chih ch'ien*; 祝 *chu*, to invoke,

depicts someone on his knees and offering a prayer, 祝 象 跪 而 有 所 禱 告 *chu hsiang kuei erh yu so tao kao*; and 祭 *chi* to offer sacrifice is to hold food for presentation to the divinity, 祭 則 持 肉 以 獻 於 神 *chi tsê ch'ih jou i hsien yü shên.*

Kuo ends this group of forms thus: all the above characters are found in the oracular sentences, furthermore, for the most part they have not left the horizon of pictorial designs, and a scrutiny of their constructive intention proves them to be pictographic characters 象 形 文 字 *hsiang hsing wên tzŭ.*

In the course of his long essay, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo examines in detail various characters in which he claims to find evidences in corroboration of the justice of his main argument. His treatment of these is usually bold, often ingenious to the point of subtlety, but always interesting and stimulating, but as they are not really essential to his main thesis, and *space is restricted, I must perforce leave them aside.*

But there is one character that will take no denial, and that is 王 *wang*, king or prince. I will take up the discussion where Kuo Mo-jo quotes some sentences from the pen of another distinguished modern writer and critic, Mr. Tung Chung-shu 董 仲 舒, "In the ancient invention of basic forms, three strokes connected by a vertical line were called 王 *wang*, and these three were Heaven, Earth, and Man, and he who blended them together 參 通 之 者 *ts'an t'ung chih che*, was a king 王 *wang*. Confucius said, 'One threading three is a king, 一 貫 三 爲 王 *i kuan san wei wang*.'" Kuo objects that this is an explanation based on a late form of the character, and is not the primitive significance of 王 *wang*. For in the archaic phase of the latter, the strokes are not limited to three, nor is the centre threaded by one (一 *i*).

In the oracular sentences the character 王 *wang* is extremely common. The most frequent of all are  and . On the Bronzes the commonest scription is that of three lines connected by one line, but then the lower end of the central line as well as the third cross line (viz. the lowest) are generally

made with a "swollen pen" 肥 筆 *fei pi*, and both ends of the third cross line curl upwards, thus [glyph] and [glyph], these very conspicuously.

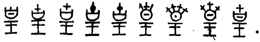
In one instance from a 句 鑃 *kou cho*, probably hooked bell, the character has four cross strokes, [glyph]. So what threads is not "one", and what is threaded is not "three". On the strength of this we can see that K'ung Chung-ni (Confucius) had no knowledge of the archaic writing, but was fond of putting forward conjectures. More recent scholars have advanced new explanations. Thus Wa Ta-ch'êng in his 說 文 古 籀 補 *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu*, relying on the character 王 *wang* occurring in the 盂 鼎 *Yü Ting*, annotates under the word 王 *wang*, "盛 也 *shêng yeh*, abundant, 大 *ta yeh*, great, consists of 二 *erh*, two, and [glyph], the latter being the ancient form of 火 *huo*, fire. Under the earth there is fire, its vapour is abundant; when fire is abundant it is called 王 *wang*, when goodness is abundant it is also termed 王 *wang*."

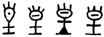
Mr. Lo (Chên-yü), continues Kuo, selecting from this explanation, has (under the character 王 *wang*) the note "composed with ▲ or △, which are both equivalent to [glyph]," and further on, "again, sometimes written △ or ⊥, where only 火 *huo*, fire, is retained, which can indicate the sense of 盛 大 之 誼 *shêng ta*, great volume." Mr. Kuo resumes, Considering that Wu Ta-ch'eng had not seen the oracular sentences, his equation of [glyph] with 火 *huo*, fire, is an improvement on the older explanation of "one threading three", but since the oracular sentences came to light, Lo's own explanation requires to be amended. The truth is, Kuo points out, that △ or ⊥ are modifications of [the primitive forms of] 且 *tsu* or 士 *shih*, and Lo's belief that both these archaic forms are equivalent to [glyph] fire is an error. In the era of matriarchal rule, it was for childbearing 毓 *hou*, they showed honour to the Queen Mother, 用 毓 以 尊 其 王 母 *yung hou i tsun ch'i wang mu.*[1] When the passage to patriarchal

[1] For footnote see next page.

society was achieved then it was the maleness of the tribal chief for which they honoured the Royal Sire, and further, for which after his death he was designated 祖 *tsu*, while during his lifetime he was rightly styled 王 *wang*. (The implication being that in both terms the original symbol of *tsu* was present, as we are about to see.)

Again, take the character of later date 皇 *hwang*, sovereign, majestic. On Bronzes of rather later date, we find the variants

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All these are composed with 王 *wang*. But on Bronzes of a relatively early period we find , all composed with 士 *shih* and, as Kuo adds in a marginal note, *not* with 土 *t'u*, as Lo Chên-yü supposed.

This then is clear proof, concludes Kuo, that 王 *wang* and 士 *shih* are at base the same object. The author accordingly affirms his conviction that the characters 士 *shih*, 且 *tsu*, 王 *wang*, and 土 *t'u*, were alike depictive images of the phallus, 同係牡器之象形 *t'ung hsi mou ch'i chih hsiang hsing*.

As first conceived this was held in high respect, he claims, untouched by the slightest sense of indecency, 在初意本尊嚴並無絲毫猥褻之義 *tsai ch'u i pên tsun yen ping wu ssŭ hao wei hsieh chih i*.

In later times with the gradual advance of culture, the character tended to excite distaste, and then arose various modes of modifying it into decorative motifs, 遂多方變形以爲文飾 *sui to fang pien hsing i wei wên shih*.

Thus for [the primitive form of] 士 *shih* was added an upper horizontal stroke; for 王 *wang* still more horizontal

[1] The second character is, according to Kanghsi, considered a variant of 育, and both to be read *yü*. But Wang Kuo-wei, followed by Kuo Mo-jo, has shown conclusively that the ancient sound was that of 后 *hou*, to give birth to. See The Honan Relics, *JRAS.*, January, 1921, where Wang's argument is given in full.

lines were added in order to disguise the shape. As to 且 *tsu*, on the older Bronzes there was no such change, but on the later ones the element 手 *shou*, hand, was added, thus,[1] , , and . But on the 陳逆子簋 *ch'ên ni tzŭ tui*, , and on another Bell, , are the earliest examples to be found with 示 included in their composition.

Again, with the character 土 *t'u*, the upper part with its bulbous outline was also altered to a transverse stroke, and ultimately was composed with the determinative 示 *shih*.[2]

The same history has been traversed by the character 匕 *pi*. The change of this to the compound form 妣 *pi* is first seen in the form  on the [?] 侯敦 [?] *hou tui*, and as , , , , this last with 示 *shih* added. All these are from relatively late Bronzes, and all have some decorative addition, or, in other words, some Determinative supplied, 皆有所文飾者矣 *chieh yu so wên shih chê i*.

And here I must conclude at any rate for the time.

465. (*To be concluded*)

[1] The author is silent as to the significance of this augment.

[2] Thus becoming the character 社 *shê*, the sacrifice to the Earth deity. Kuo ignores the phonetic difficulty arising from the disparity of sound between *t'u* and *shê*, which cannot surely have diverged from the same archaic sound.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

FOUR STRANGE TONGUES FROM SOUTH ARABIA: THE HADARA GROUP. By BERTRAM THOMAS. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XXIII. 10 × 6½, pp. 105. London: Humphrey Milford, 1939. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This work contains a collection of sentences and vocabularies collected during the course of the author's travels among the tribes of the Dhofar mountains of the Central South Arabian coast. Out of the four dialects represented, Mahri and Shahari have, of course, been studied previously by the Vienna *Südarabische Expedition*, but the other two are claimed by the author as hitherto unknown, namely Botahari and Harsusi, which are subdialects allied to Mahri. Naturally, in a subject of this sort the evidence of additional observers is always of the greatest value, and the author has the advantage of having gathered his material over a wide field.

In that respect the present work is extremely welcome. It is only a pity that, since the author is, as he admits, not a professional philologist, the description of the phonology is a little vague. One would like to know, for instance, when he speaks of "accent", whether he intends a tonal or a stress accent. The point of most outstanding interest, however, is that he distinguishes *two* lateral affricates, instead of the *one* noticed by previous observers. These he calls "a lightly and a heavily lisped sibilant"; as in his transcription he uses ś and ź for these, one may reasonably conclude that by these terms he means that one is unvoiced and the other voiced.

The collections are prefaced by an interesting introduction dealing with the tribes who speak these dialects; and there are appended at the end a couple of pages contributed by Professor Marcel Cohen, on the linguistic affinities of this group of languages.

B. 332. A. F. L. BEESTON.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN EGYPT. By J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE. 10 × 6¼, pp. xiv + 503. London: Luzac and Co., 1939. 25s.

Dr. Heyworth-Dunne has planned to write in four volumes a history of culture in modern Egypt. The first two volumes will be devoted to the history of education, in particular the introduction and development of that Western learning that followed the French conquest of Egypt; the two later volumes will deal with the history of the language, literature, and music. The first volume, now under review, carries the story of education down to the British occupation.

After an account of the educational system existing before A.D. 1798, which was essentially theological, the author describes in detail the extensive schemes of education which Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha initiated as one means of making Egypt a great power, and which he carried on with formidable energy, but little practical judgment. His aim, however, was not the cultural progress of his people, but the improvement of his armed forces through the provision of officers and men familiar with science as applied to warfare. His subjects, therefore, regarded the new institutions with suspicion and dislike. The transition also from the traditional system to the new was too abrupt for a nation nurtured intellectually on ultra-conservative lines; and Dr. Heyworth-Dunne concludes that Muḥammad 'Alī achieved little towards raising the cultural standard of his people.

When the Treaty of London in A.D. 1841 ended Muḥammad Ali's military ambitions, the ensuing reaction affected his educational schemes also, and his schools were either closed or neglected. Under Ismā'īl Pasha, however, the Egyptian people themselves awoke to an interest in education and some consciousness of its true purposes. Dissatisfaction with their ruler's grandiose financial schemes had spread to other branches of his administration, and towards the end of his reign and during the reign of his successor public criticism forced the Government to initiate various plans for

reorganizing the administration and curricula of the schools. Unfortunately these plans came too late for credit for improvement to be given to Egyptian statesmanship alone, for before their fruits could be judged the country came under British control.

Dr. Heyworth-Dunne's study is a serious and comprehensive work. Most of it deals necessarily with Government activities, but private Egyptian schools and those of the foreign communities receive adequate treatment. The author at times criticizes both methods and results, basing his strictures on the opinions of both Egyptians and Europeans as well as on his own judgment and experience. On the whole the results achieved by Egypt's efforts of sixty years and more to establish a modern system of education were disappointing, but not entirely discouraging. In spite of repeated schemes of reform the improvements effected were slight, and very little good was spoken of the system by those who took it over on the British occupation. On the other hand, the public conscience had been aroused to the need of modern studies, and machinery had been set up to supply the need. It must be remembered that education of the kind introduced by Muḥammad 'Alī was a plant alien to Egyptian soil; its properties and the correct methods of its cultivation were unknown there. It is to Egypt's credit that the plant, though sadly mishandled, took root and grew.

B. 390. VICTOR WATSON.

ENTSTEHUNG UND ENTWICKLUNG DER TAGESPRESSE IN ÄGYPTEN. By KAMAL ELDIN GALAL. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 178. Frankfurt-am-Main: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg, 1939.

[Zeitung und Zeit: Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Zeitungswissenschaft an der Universität Berlin. Neue Folge: Band 11.]

The main value of the present work lies in providing a concise history of the politics of Egypt from the time of

Napoleon I's invasion to the present day, together with a description of the efforts made by a series of Egyptians to achieve independence for their country. It is in the nature of the subject that the story of the Press should be incidental to that of the political events which determined the country's history, but from this it is not to be inferred that the author has neglected the original theme of his book. There is a continuous narrative telling how, from the time of the introduction of the printing press into the country, the various journals were established by political leaders and private persons for the furtherance of their public or private ambitions, and a considerable amount of pertinent biographical material is included. For the latest period the author has obviously drawn on personal experience, and he has been unable to keep his narrative as free as a scientific work should be of political bias. His personal feeling makes him indulge in a lengthy attack on British policy in Egypt in a section which is entirely irrelevant to the ostensible subject of the work, and which vitiates its scientific character and reliability. It would appear, in fact, to be a recent interpolation made for reasons connected with the present war. Minor points of criticism are that there is no index and that so important an item as Martin Hartmann's *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London, 1899, is omitted from the bibliography.

B. 419. R. LEVY.

Far East

SOUTH OF THE CLOUDS. A Winter Ride through Yünnan. By GERALD REITLINGER. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 327, pls. 26, map 1. London: Faber and Faber, 1939. 15*s.*

This volume can hardly be called a book for serious readers, and the writer finds it rather difficult to do it justice. The blurb on the jacket says that it is "extremely readable", but it has taken the reviewer the best part of a month, and considerable determination, to master its contents.

South of the Clouds is the picturesque translation of the Chinese name, *Yün-nan,* and Mr. Reitlinger's work is an account of his journey from Hanoï to Yünnan-Fu by railway, and thence by mules through Tali-Fu, right up to the gorges of the Yangtze in Southern Szechuan; back again to Tali-Fu, and finally, due west to Myitkyina on the Burma border. From Myitkyina there is a railway southwards to Mandalay, where the author disembarked for an overland trip to Impal in Manipur, and thence to Darjeeling.

Mr. Reitlinger is a traveller pure and simple and, although, as the publishers maintain, he may have a witty pen, a keen eye for people, and a gift of vivid description, readers accustomed to Eastern travel themselves may require rather more solid material, if their attention is to be held, than a continual narration of difficulties with muleteers and of the inconveniences found in Chinese inns.

The account of the journey is purely descriptive and reveals no particular knowledge of the different tribes the author met, Lolo, Minshia, Na-Shi, Li-So, Shan, and Kachin. It is curious that he never once mentions the Tai (or Siamese), who formerly exercised sovereignty over the very region of which he treats, and the author might be interested to read the works of Professor Wilhelm Credner, a German geologist, who was for some years attached to the Sun Yat Sen University of Canton. Part of the latter's work, under the title of "Cultural and Geographical Observations made in the Tali (Yünnan) region", was published in the Siam Society's *Journal* for 1935 (vol. xxvii, pt. 2).

When the author does venture on critical observations, these must be treated with a certain reserve. For instance, on page 122 he says: "You cannot resist a little interest in ethnology in Yün-nan. . . . By race the Na-Shis are Tibeto-Burmans, while their neighbours, the Minchias, are Mon-Khmer or Indo-Chinese." Dr. Credner says that the Minchias still retain their own speech which, from the vocabulary he gives, shows no relationship to the Tai speech, but seems to

have been derived from an older *Chinese* form, while there are also certain affinities with the speech of the Lolo. Nowhere does he hint at any Mon-Khmer relationship.

Again, while the author's remarks on porcelain (p. 129) may be accepted in a general sense, his actual description of this material will bring a smile to the lips of all students of the subject: "Sherds which can really be called porcelain, that is with *the glaze penetrating right through the clay*[1] like a piece of glass." Let the author break the next bowl of Chinese porcelain he handles (a common one will do), and look inside. He may have a surprise!

But enough of criticism. The photographs are excellent, and show the wild beauty of the scenery, and in spite of what he has said, the reviewer has a friendly feeling towards Mr. Reitlinger. He would make a good travelling companion in the East, and that is saying a good deal. His book will surely appeal to many young people with a taste for adventure in Far Eastern lands.

B. 380. R. LE MAY.

THE GOLDEN LOTUS. A translation, from the Chinese original, of the novel, CHIN P'ING MEI. By CLEMENT EGERTON. 9 × 6, 4 vols. London: G. Routledge, 1939. Vol I, pp. xvii + 387; Vol. II, pp. v + 376; Vol. III, pp. v + 385; Vol. IV, pp. v + 375. £4 4*s*. the set.

CHIN P'ING MEI. The adventurous history of Hsi Men and his six wives. (Translated by BERNARD MIALL from the abridged German version by FRANZ KUHN.) With an introduction by ARTHUR WALEY. 9 × 6, pp. xxii + 852. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1939. 25*s*.

The *Chin P'ing Mei* (literally, "Golden [Lotus], Vase [Lady], and [Spring] Plum"), of which these are translations, the first complete, the other much abbreviated, is one of the "three-deckers" of Chinese fiction, if not actually the longest

[1] The italics are the reviewer's.

novel in existence. Colonel Egerton's work fills four stout volumes with a total of 1,523 pages, and even the shortened version is more than double the length of any ordinary novel. Limitations of space must obviously prevent me from reviewing such a colossal pair with the thoroughness they deserve; but though I have only been able to check the translation in a few selected passages, I hope to convey at least a general impression of the aim and achievement of each translator.

The history of the *Chin P'ing Mei* is hard to disentangle from a network of legend, but the known facts are well summarized in Mr. Waley's introduction. It must suffice to say here that the novel was written towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and that the authorship is still a matter of dispute. "A romance of domestic life, with realistic details" is a dust-cover description of the book, and it may be added that the details are so "realistic" that most of them have been omitted by Herr Kuhn, while Colonel Egerton has been obliged to turn them into Latin. The story is chiefly concerned with the amorous adventures of Hsi-mên Ch'ing, a dissolute scoundrel, who appears none the less to have inspired real affection in the members of his household. His evil genius is the concubine or "fifth wife" Golden Lotus, who combines transcendent beauty and charm with callous self-seeking and wickedness that could hardly be paralleled in the Borgia family. Surprisingly enough, neither Colonel Egerton nor Mr. Waley seems to be aware that both these characters play a prominent part in the earlier romance *Shui Hu Chuan*, which has been translated by Mrs. Pearl Buck under the title *All Men are Brothers*. There, however, they meet their doom at the hands of Wu Sung, who thus avenges the murder of his brother, Golden Lotus' first husband. A similar episode occurs in the *Chin P'ing Mei*, but ends with Wu Sung's banishment before he has carried out his purpose. Golden Lotus thus survives for a further career of cruelty and lust, narrated with a cool detachment that seems almost inhuman.

She is really the central figure of the book, and that explains why it does not conclude with the death of Hsi-mên Ch'ing, but continues for twenty-one more chapters, until rough justice is finally meted out to all.

Colonel Egerton says that the *Chin P'ing Mei* is "written in a sort of telegraphese"; but to my thinking this does not give a true idea of the style of the original, nor differentiates it from the great majority of other Chinese novels. The colloquial dialect of the north in which it is written is not unlike that of the *Hung Lou Mêng*, which is nearly 200 years later in date, and it is far less concise than the literary language of all periods. Much more striking is the extensive use which is made of dialogue as opposed to description or plain narrative. The author refrains almost entirely from criticism or comment, and allows his characters to reveal themselves by their own acts and out of their own mouths.

Comparing the two translations, we find that they differ considerably from each other. Colonel Egerton has aimed at producing a smooth English version without omitting the difficult passages, and at the same time he has tried to preserve the spirit of the Chinese. He has been fairly conscientious, but in spite of his endeavour he leaves out much that is in the original, and it cannot be said that his translation is free from mistakes. Still less accurate is the other book. We must remember, of course, that this is not a direct translation, and greater divergence from the Chinese text was almost inevitable. There is a lot of paraphrase and unnecessary embroidery, but the frequent omissions are so skilfully contrived that the thread of the story suffers very little, if at all. Mr. Miall has an agreeably animated style, and he has produced a most readable book, but I am afraid it is not quite the *Chin P'ing Mei*. In order to justify these mild strictures, I will conclude with a few quotations from each work, taken more or less at random, together with the Chinese.

還是拙夫沒命不干他事. G. L. (i, p. 243): "And really I don't think it was his fault that my husband died so

young." C. P. M.: "However, I have never sent for him since my husband's death." The latter is a bad mistranslation.

只見潘金蓮掀簾子走進來銀絲䯼髻上戴着一頭鮮花兒. G. L. (i, p. 255): "Golden Lotus came in. She was wearing a flower in her hair." (If there is any "telegraphese" here, Colonel Egerton himself is surely to blame.) C.P.M.: "In the middle of the game the curtain parted. Golden Lotus entered, smiling, a silver net stretched over her curls, a fresh flower perched coquettishly over her left temple."

起來執燭滿帳照蚊照一個燒一個. G. L. (i, p. 256): "She got up and lighted a candle to find a mosquito. When she found it she put it in the flame." C. P. M.: "She rose from the couch, and held up the lamp to the mosquito-net. And there she saw a dragonfly entangled in the net. She freed the insect and singed it in the flame." Neither translator has got this passage right. It should run: "She got up, and with a candle in her hand searched all round the bed-curtains for mosquitoes, burning them in the flame as fast as she caught them."

指着金蓮說六娘從前的事你躭待他罷. G. L. (iv, p. 97): "He pointed to Golden Lotus. 'Forgive her for all the things she has done wrong.'" C. P. M.: "Sister Five—he indicated Golden Lotus—must at last overcome and forget her former dissensions." Another mistranslation in the latter work.

竹籬 means "bamboo fence" (indicating a humble dwelling), not "bamboo fans" as G. L. has it (iv, p. 77).

The description of Hsi-mên's death-agony concludes with the words: 挨到巳牌時分嗚呼哀哉斷氣身亡. G. L. (iv, p. 98) condenses this into "At dawn he breathed his last", and C. P. M. paraphrases the whole passage. The literal translation is: "He lingered on until the *ssŭ* hour (9–11 a.m.), and then, alas and alack! his breathing ceased and he passed away."

B. 445, 514. LIONEL GILES.

India

L'Inde Civilisatrice : aperçu historique. By Sylvain Lévi. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 268. Paris : Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient. Adrien Maisonneuve, 1938.

In this little volume ten lectures prepared by the late Sylvain Lévi for a course of lectures at the University of Strasbourg have been printed from his own manuscript. After a chapter on the broad features of the civilization of India, we have brief, but illuminating surveys of the generally recognized periods of its history down to the time of Harṣavardhana (seventh century, A.D.). Each of these sketches is marked by the discernment and felicity of expression characteristic of the great indologist. Lévi understood the "realities" of India and the intellectual qualities of its people; and in these lectures he gives expression to the results of life-long scientific study. He predicates the difficulties arising from the lack of historical data : *Seule sans doute parmi les grandes nations civilisées, l'Inde n'a pas d'histoire . . . La fiction qui par ailleurs se mêle à l'histoire règne ici en maîtresse exclusive . . . Le labeur obstiné d'une poignée d'érudits occidentaux a commencé depuis un siècle à secouer ces chimères . . . L'Inde ne nous laisse entrevoir qu'à de vagues indices les événements qui s'y déroulent ; c'est par ses voisins surtout que nous devinons ce qui s'y passe.*

Lévi emphasizes the influence exerted by Greek culture, at least in North-West India ; and in his lecture on the Indo-Greek period he argues for the existence of an "Indo-Greek civilization" in the third and second centuries, B.C. His wide acquaintance with the ancient literature, both Indian and Chinese, enhances the value of his lectures on the Chinese thrust westwards into the "Scythian world", on the Indo-Scythians and the Hūṇas, and on the spread of Buddhism into Tibet and, more especially, into Serindia—whence Indian cultural influence spread so far afield. His familiarity

with the literature of Buddhism will be seen, moreover, to colour several of the lectures.

In this fascinating survey the reader will find many valuable suggestions, as well as the mature views of a great scholar on some of the outstanding problems of early Indian history. The Council of the *Institut de Civilisation Indienne* must be congratulated on having published the manuscript.

B. 411. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

BAJI RAO II AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1796–1818. By P. C. GUPTA. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 219. London: Oxford University Press, 1939. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This little book contains a careful study of a short period in the decay of the Maratha power which formed the subject of a thesis submitted by the writer to the University of London for his Doctor's degree in Philosophy in 1936. The author has aimed at conveying an idea of the political intrigues and developments of the period, and avoids any reference to the social and economic life of the times. Readers of Grant Duff are aware of the tediousness with which a study of the endless ramifications of the struggle between the Maratha powers for supremacy and the gradual reactions of British power to the disorders in the Deccan resulting therefrom is involved. From this Mr. Gupta has endeavoured to escape by stating his facts clearly and concisely; and he has made excellent use of the large store of materials available in the Peshwa's Daftar, and other contemporary records. The result is a very creditable piece of work which can be recommended to all who are interested in the methods by which the Poona Brahmans contrived to wreck the heritage of Sivaji and his stalwart warriors.

A word may be added regarding the author's spelling of well-known places. It seems regrettable at this stage to disguise Kirkee as Khadki, Yeraoda as Yerveda, and Ganesh Khind as Ganesh Khand. Belgaon is more recognizable as

Belgaum, and Lahogarh is an obvious misprint for Lohogarh. Vyankatesh is, of course, a popular mispronouncing of Venkatesh, a more correct form. We shall look forward to further historical studies from Mr. Gupta with interest.

B. 431. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

Indica

LANGUAGE HUNTING IN THE KARAKORAM. By E. O. LORIMER. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 310, pls. 24, map 1. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1939. 12*s.* 6*d.*

An account of the writer's "day-to-day" experiences during the time in which she resided in Hunza with her husband, Lieut.-Col. D. L. Lorimer, while he was investigating the Burushaski language. The story is charmingly told, and the photographic plates are excellent.

B. 355.

THE SELF HINDI TEACHER. By EDWARD JOHN. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$. pp. ii + vi + 187. Allahabad: Ram Narain Lal, 1939. Annas 12.

A practical guide to Hindi through the medium of English, beginning with the Nagari alphabet and proceeding to single words, sentences, and composition.

B. 487.

ŚRĪ-VIDYĀ-SAPARYĀ-PADDHATI. Compiled by N. SUBRAHMAṆYA AIYAR, assisted by C. ŚAṄKARA-RĀMA ŚĀSTRI. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp. iv + x + 186 + 1, pl. 1. Madras, 1938. Rs. 2.

A ritual for the mystic Śaiva cult of Devī styled Śrī-vidyā, in Sanskrit. Appended are some appropriate *nāmāvalis* and Upaniṣads.

B. 488.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAND OF CEYLON AND THE CASE FOR THE REFORM OF ITS CONSTITUTION. By the PADIKARA MUDALIYAR, N. D. A. SILVA WIJAYASINGHE SIRIWARDENE. 9 × 6, pp. xviii + 143, pl. 1. London: John Murray, 1938. 3s. 6d.

Comprises an historical survey of Ceylon, a review of the government of the island from 1815 to 1930 and of its industrial development, "further considerations," a chapter on misrepresentation of Ceylon, and a refutation by Sir D. B. Jayatilaka of charges brought against Ceylon.

B. 492.

A Grammar of the Ardha-Māgadhī Prākrita. JAINA-SIDDHĀNTA-KAUMUDĪ. By Pandit RATNACANDRA. 9½ × 6½, pp. xii + i + 411 + ii. Lahore: Sanskrit Book Depôt, 1939.

A Sanskrit grammar of the Ardha-māgadhī Prakrit dialect, the language of the Jain scriptures, modelled on Bhaṭṭojī's Siddhānta-kaumudī, the rules being summarised in *sūtra*-form and expounded in a commentary.

B. 501.

VELUGŌṬIVĀRIVAṀŚĀVALI. Edited with introduction by N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA. Bulletin of the Dept. of Indian History and Archæology, No. 6. 9½ × 6½, pp. i + i + i + 60 + 174, pl. 1. Madras: University of Madras, 1939.

A Telugu chronicle of the exploits of the Velama Rajas, composed of the poetical panegyrics by divers poets upon each successive representative of the dynasty, from the founder, Çevvi Reḍḍi, down to Rāmabhadra Nāyuḍu, to which the editor has prefixed a valuable survey of the history of the times in English.

B. 507.

TRI SINHALA: THE LAST PHASE, 1796–1815. By P. E. PIERIS. 9 × 6, pp. xiii + i + 248, pl. 1. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons (1939). 7s. 6d.

A careful and fully documented history of the last days of

the Sinhalese kingdom and the establishment of British rule in the island.

B. 509.

SOME SAYINGS OF THE BUDDHA ACCORDING TO THE PĀLI CANON. Translated by F. L. WOODWARD, with an introduction by SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. The World's Classics, CDLXXXIII. 6 × 4, pp. xxvi + i + 356. London: Oxford University Press, 1939. 2*s.*

A useful anthology of characteristic passages from the Vinaya-piṭaka and Nikāyas, with introduction and notes.

B. 510.

SPECIMENS OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN PALÆOGRAPHY. Selected and annotated by A. J. ARBERRY. 10 × 6, pp. viii + 48. London: India Office Library, 1939. 6*s.*

Forty-eight plates reproducing select pages from MSS., ranging in age from the ninth to the nineteenth century, which are of especial interest by reason of their script or of the importance of the writers.

B. 513.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY, India excepted. Edited by L. A. MAYER. Vol. III, 1937. 9½ × 6½, pp. i + 96. Jerusalem: Igarta Divan Publishing House, 1939.

An exhaustive bibliography, carefully arranged under sixteen headings with index.

B. 519.

GRANDEUR ET DÉCADENCE DE L'ASIE: L'AVÈNEMENT DE L'EUROPE. Par FERNAND GRENARD. Collection Armand Colin, N°. 227. 6¾ × 4½, pp. 224. Paris: Armand Colin, 1939.

A survey of the history and cultural conditions of Asia in antiquity, the rise and development of the Ottoman Empire, the kingdoms of Further Asia, and the establishment of European supremacy, with a bibliography.

B. 523.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

THE EARLY EMPIRES OF CENTRAL ASIA. A study of the Scythians and the Huns, and the part they played in world history with special reference to the Chinese sources. By W. M. McGOVERN. 9½ × 7, pp. xiii + 529, pls. 5, figs. 17, maps 6. Chapel Hill, University of N. Carolina Press, 1939. $4 or 18s.

It is claimed for this book that it "represents the first attempt in any European language to cover as a whole the early history of Central Asia from the earliest times down to the sixth century A.D." Perhaps this is justified, but it takes no account of de Guignes, nor of E. H. Parker's sketch of the Tartars. With regard to the first part, concerned with the Scythians, the author's use of the classical sources seems to me rather uncritical, he does not seem to appreciate how much the later writers repeat the earlier word for word, though describing quite different ages. The part touching the Huns is more valuable though almost entirely drawn from secondary sources. The most interesting point made by him is that much of the culture of the Huns was derived from their Western neighbours, and that in physique they were not the pure Mongols that we picture them. To the Western peoples they may have appeared something quite new in physiognomy, but the Chinese saw in them the same marked features that they dislike in Europeans. The supplementary notes discuss many disputed questions not always in the light of the latest authorities. The bibliography is helpful, but peculiar in that all titles are always given in full, however long and however often mentioned (no familiar *JRAS.*), German words are never allowed ä or ö, and no references are given to Russian writings. The author's Chinese transliteration is, I think, peculiar to himself. It has certain advantages, and it is a help that the form of each name has been given in the index according to Wade ("Rouran" takes some recognizing). The style may be "intelligible and interesting

to the average reader ", but sometimes it is not such as is customary in serious history. The maps and illustrations are not up to standard.

B. 388. ELLIS H. MINNS.

REVEALING INDIA'S PAST. A Co-operative Record of Archæological Conservation and Exploration in India and Beyond. By twenty-two authorities. Edited by Sir JOHN CUMMING. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xx + 374, maps 3, pls. 33. London: The India Society, 1939. £1. 5*s*.

It was considered by the India Society that the development and the remarkable results of archæological work in India should be better known to the world than they are, and this book has accordingly been produced by the Society for the benefit both of specialists and of amateurs. Persons interested in Indian archæology, to whichever class they belonged, have hitherto had to collect what knowledge they could on the subject from numerous scattered books, reports, and journals, and were greatly handicapped in any attempt to obtain a comprehensive view of the subject. The book under review not only provides a complete general survey of archæology in India, but also ensures our obtaining our information at first hand from the best authorities. The work has been distributed among no less than twenty-two different experts, most of whom have at one time or another been connected officially with the Archæological Department in India, and their contributions—all of which have been gratuitously furnished—have been skilfully co-ordinated under the able editorship of Sir John Cumming, the Vice-Chairman of the School of Oriental Studies. There are many heroes on the battlefield of Indian Archæology, and practically every one of the contributors to this volume has won distinction in some part of that battlefield, but few of them would contest the view that the leading honours of the long-fought campaign

rest with "the dauntless three"—Sir Alexander Cunningham, Lord Curzon, and Sir John Marshall, to whom the Department in India owes its origin, its resuscitation, and its present efficiency. The book before us deals with every aspect of Indian Archæology: history, exploration, excavation, conservation, epigraphy, museums, publications—and no one can read the detailed exposition of these various branches of the subject without a profound admiration for the work that has been accomplished. The Department now occupies a secure niche in the temple of Indian approval and one of the contributors to this volume quotes the pronouncement of an Indian who averred that the Department "has given us our self-respect and increased our national stature". But it has not always been so, and the pages of this book show how in the past public indifference has led the Government, on the occasion of each of its periodical fits of saving, to single out this Department for specially severe retrenchment. If this book can save Indian Archæology from similar disasters in the future, it will have served a good purpose.

The book has a delightfully appreciative "Foreword" from the distinguished pen of Dr. Foucher, and the pleasure of reading the work is increased by a pleasant binding, clear print, and good illustrations.

B. 439. E. D. MACLAGAN.

ANTHOLOGIA ANTHROPOLOGICA. 4 vols, $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, being a selection of passages from the MS. Notebooks of Sir JAMES FRAZER, O.M., arranged by R. A. DOWNIE. P. L. Humphries and Co., Ltd., 1938, 1939.

This imposing work consists of four handsome quarto volumes, issued between October, 1938, and September, 1939. They were entitled respectively, *The Native Races of America*, *The Native Races of Asia and Europe*, *The Native Races of Australia*, and *The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar*. The field covered is thus world-wide; and a vast number

of well-known works have been drawn on for the extracts which these volumes contain.

All students of primitive custom are already so greatly in debt to the learned author of the *Golden Bough*, which has swollen into a noble forest since it first appeared, that they will offer a cordial welcome to these handsome volumes. They include a portrait of Sir James Frazer himself, who offers in this form the sweepings of his stray notes not already embodied in his published works.

Mr. Downie, under the direction of Sir James and Lady Frazer, has carried out the task allotted to him with great skill. It might perhaps be said that certain of the works quoted, such for instance, to take the Asiatic volume, as those of the Abbé Dubois, Edgar Thurston, and Sarat Chandra Roy, are so well known to students of ethnology as hardly to require this additional publicity, but of the value to scholars of this mass of raw material there can be no possible room for doubt, and they will be correspondingly grateful. From the fragrant fields of Nemi, where in spring time the scent of endless violet plantations welcomes the visitor to the Arician grove, Sir James Frazer has travelled round the world in search of primitive practices. His reward will be found in the universal admission that an acquaintance with his works is, and must remain, an indispensable qualification for all students of primitive elements in society, wherever found.

B. 442. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

Biblical Archæology

DIE GRIECHISCHE - ARABISCHE EVANGELIEN - ÜBERSETZUNG. By B. LEVIN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 69 + 80 + 90. Upsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1938.

This version comes from Palestine and probably from Mar Saba. From the liturgical rubrics the author argues that this text of the Gospels was written before the Persian campaigns of Heraclius; that is to say, it is an earlier example of

Arabic prose than the Koran. This claim is startling. It is hard to refute it as next to nothing is known of the Syrian dialect at that date. The epigraphic evidence for an early date is weak. The editor admits that the spelling is, on the whole, that of classical Arabic ; the natural inference is that the book was written after the language had been standardized by the Koran. The vagaries of spelling and grammar suggest that the author sometimes remembered his schooling ; it is not reasonable to put the variety down to stylistic revision, though this has occurred. The version is very uneven. The translator knew Arabic well, but was often hampered by his original. Measured by any standard, some passages are fine literature and highly idiomatic, while others are word for word renderings which do not deserve to be called Arabic. The translator either spoke Syriac or was soaked in the Syriac versions. The use of *'atīd* to express the future is pure Syriac ; Arabic words are used because they are like the Syriac, not because they are suitable, *ṣadīq* in the sense of righteous and *ṭaghā* for the Syriac *ṭ'ā*. There is no authority for ascribing to any dialect the contempt for grammar shown in the lawless use of the words *ab* and *akh*, and of the indicative and jussive forms of the verb. Such a form as *dainūna*, which means first indebtedness and then guilt, looks late. The evidence seems to show that the language of this version is not a genuine dialect, but a literary Arabic deeply marked by Syriac. The words *arīs* or *irrīs*, husbandman, and *andar*, threshing floor, were recognized as Syrian by the Arabs. The reviewer is not competent to discuss the questions of textual criticism raised by the author. One may remark that it is unusual to find Low German and Arabic in one volume.

B. 371. A. S. Tritton.

Islam

BIOGRAPHIES DES GRAMMAIRIENS DE L'ÉCOLE DE BASRA. Par AL-SĪRĀFĪ. Ed. F. KRENKOW. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, pp. ix + 116, facs. 3. Bibliotheca Arabica IX. Paris: Geuthner, 1936.

Fluegel noted that he knew of no copy of this book and, now that it has been discovered, it adds little to our knowledge; it only shows that later writers copied the earlier. Some of the anecdotes are interesting; one sympathises with the man who wanted to ask Joseph why he did not send a message to his father to let him know that he was alive and well when Canaan was only ten marches from Egypt. The book contains the text, French and Arabic prefaces, an index, and notes. It would have saved the readers trouble if the editor had indicated somewhere what parts of the book were new to scholars.

B. 435. A. S. TRITTON.

LA POÉSIE ANDALOUSE EN ARABE CLASSIQUE AU XI[e] SIÈCLE. Par H. PÉRÈS. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xl + 541. Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales: Faculté des Lettres d'Alger V. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1937.

A new book on Spanish-Arabic literature is due, and this stout volume deserves a warm welcome. Outwardly, it is all that a book should be; it is well printed, has a full bibliography, and five indices. The author shows that his use of "Andalusian" for Spanish-Arabic is justified by the custom of the poets. After a historical introduction the author deals with the poet, his position in society, his heritage from the Muslim past, and his contribution to his own time. Then the subject matter of poetry is arranged under heads which are treated separately. First come the towns with all that pertains to them, palaces, and pleasure grounds. Among them, Cordova takes pride of place; in the tenth century

its fame had reached the Saxon nun Hroswitha. Then comes the country and country life in all its aspects, the sky with its stars and the earth with its animals and insects; the peoples, Arabs, Berbers, Jews, and Spaniards, both Muslim and Christian; the social and private life of the people from birth to death, in work and play, in serious thought and frivolous amusement. The work is exhaustive but not exhausting; it carries the reader on and away.

B. 436. A. S. TRITTON.

L'ESPAGNE, VUE PAR LES VOYAGEURS MUSULMANS DE 1610 À 1930. Par HENRI PÉRÈS. 10 × 6½, pp. xxiii + 198. Publications de l'Institut d'Études Orientales: Faculté des Lettres d'Alger VI. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1937.

After reading the title it is disappointing to find that there are only two travellers before 1800, one in the seventeenth and one in the eighteenth century. These were ambassadors sent from Morocco who prepared reports for their royal masters. It may fairly be said that these two were interested in the country which they visited while later travellers were more interested in themselves. The account of the Muslim prisoners in Spain, some of them should be called slaves, is valuable. More information is wanted on this subject. Of later visitors the poet Shawqi is the most interesting; his stay in Spain marked a stage in his development, without it he would not have been what he was. The book is very readable, even if some pages suggest book-making. If some of the travellers did not understand correctly all that they saw, they were not the only ones to make mistakes. There is a long bibliography.

B. 437. A. S. TRITTON.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOG OF THE GARRETT COLLECTION OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. By P. K. HITTI, NABIH AMIN FARIS, BUṬRUS 'ABD-AL-MALIK. Princeton Oriental Texts, Vol. V. 10½ × 8½, pp. xii + 668 + xxiii + 56 + iv. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938 (1939). $15.00.

The Garrett collection of Arabic manuscripts has been collected over some thirty years and comprises more than 4,500 single items. Its owner, Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore, has with admirable generosity deposited the collection in the Princeton University Library, where the first of its five component groups was catalogued long ago by Professor E. Littmann, whose hand-list was published at Princeton and Leipzig in 1904. Notices of individual items have appeared from time to time since; and now, thanks to the industry of a team of able Syrian-American scholars, under the inspiring leadership of Professor P. K. Hitti, a complete inventory of the massive collection is available.

As is natural in a collection of this size, a very considerable proportion of the manuscripts is of standard works: but this is no disadvantage, for the very representative character of the whole is in keeping with the project, successfully achieved, of building up in the United States a library of Arabic manuscripts worthy to be compared with any of the similar major libraries of Europe. Quite apart from its very respectable bulk, however, the collection merits attention for the intrinsic importance of very many individual manuscripts. The oldest dated item is a copy of the *Ma'ūnat al-mubtadi'īn* of al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 476/1083), written in 485/1092. Fifteen manuscripts are dated in the sixth/twelfth century, and there are very many others, undated, of an equal antiquity. There is a large number of "Kūfic" fragments of the *Qur'ān*; there is a vellum manuscript, stated to be probably of the eleventh century, of the Mālikī *al-Mudawwanah* of Ibn Junādah; the collection is especially rich in medicine,

astrology, and magic; some fifty items at least are authors' autograph copies.

Great care has been taken over the preparation of this catalogue, particularly to secure uniformity in method of treatment. The lay-out of the descriptions, and their plan of contents, call, however, for some criticism. It is time that some general agreement was reached on the technique of cataloguing oriental manuscripts: and while each individual cataloguer naturally claims that his own system is superior to all others, sufficient material is to hand for an impartial judgment to be passed. In the first place, it is really not helpful to include a large selection of "collections" in a modern catalogue (everyone knows what a nuisance these *majmū'ahs* are in oriental hand-lists): when a volume contains a number of separate works, it does not involve much labour to separate them out and assign them to their proper sections. Secondly, it is desirable that in particular sections the works should be arranged in strict chronological order; and if there are several copies of the same work, it facilitates consultation to put complete copies first, in order of dates, and sections afterwards. Thirdly, in composing a description of a known work it is now necessary that a reference to Brockelmann should always be made, and individual catalogues need only be mentioned in order to supplement or correct *GAL.*: Brockelmann is surely as important as Ḥājjī Khalīfah. It is good fun, it is true, to translate the fanciful titles which Arab authors give to their books, but it is hardly a part of scientific cataloguing. A guess at the date of an undated manuscript should always be hazarded: the judgment of an experienced cataloguer is entitled to some respect. Fārisī, as a name for a script, is to me novel; the identification of a certain old script with "badī'" has already been the subject of a learned controversy. There is not much harm in speculating on the nationality of a scribe: most scripts are sufficiently characteristic to make the venture worth while.

These are criticisms of first principle: being at a distance

from works of reference, for reasons within the control of only one man, the reviewer is unable to essay meticulous examination of detail. But these remarks must not be taken as detracting at all seriously from the solid merit of a task well and faithfully performed. Princeton is to be congratulated alike on the Collection which it is privileged to house, and the team of cataloguers which has produced this impressive volume. We read that a volume of fascimile reproductions is in course of preparation, and wonder, a little wistfully, when if ever there will be money again in Europe for such enterprises.

The book, big and bulky and double-columned, with a battery of valuable indices, was very accurately printed at the American Press of Beirut.

B. 447. A. J. ARBERRY.

Miscellaneous

LA PHILOSOPHIE EN ORIENT. By PAUL MASSON-OURSEL. Histoire de la Philosophie, Émile Bréhier. Fascicule supplémentaire. 9 × 5½, pp. xii + 188. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1938.

In this handbook of general philosophy the first volume is devoted to ancient and medieval philosophy: the first two fascicules to ancient Greece and Rome, the third to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In vol. ii, one fascicule contains the philosophy of the seventeenth, another one that of the eighteenth century, while the first fifty years of the nineteenth occupy a fascicule in itself; the second half, combined with the beginning of the twentieth century, is represented in yet another fascicule. The whole philosophy of the Orient, on the other hand, comprising Western Asia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, India, and China, is only dealt with in one single supplementary fascicule of 182 pages. The survey on India, for instance, given from religious, philosophical, and scientific angles, and embracing not less than at least 5,000 years (from the civilization of the Indus Valley till to-day),

is summarized in forty pages, with two pages of a short bibliography added.

This disposition in its numerical proportion strikingly reveals that Oriental philosophy is still regarded as but a small appendix to Western philosophy. The highly difficult task, then, conferred on Mr. Masson-Oursel was to do justice in such a brief survey to all the different and divergent Oriental systems. If anybody, then Mr. M.-O. is capable, and inclined, to venture on such an undertaking. Already his former book, *Philosophie comparée*, is based on a dogma which in a way simplifies and summarizes the divergent contents of philosophy. " Eur-Asia " is taken as a unity dealing with the same basic problems (cf. e.g. the present book, p. 177). But, on the other hand, this standpoint complicates matters and calls for more space of representation. Not only analogies, but also reciprocal influences have to be pointed out. From the reservoir of his vast knowledge, M.-O. states more abundantly than we could expect in these limitations of space comparisons of the special Indian schools of thought with other Oriental systems (Chaldean, Babylonian, Zoroastrian), and with the West all through the ages, from Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus *via* Descartes and the English Empiricists and Sceptics, up till modern psycho-analysis. On p. 182 the author gives a justification for his comparisons which even somebody like the reviewer, who takes a fundamentally different view of this problem (cf. my " Indian and Western Philosophy, a Study in *Contrasts* "), has to acknowledge: he asserts that comparative philosophy must be undertaken for the sake of the ethico-epistemological method; that the egoistic individualism of each culture and its illusion of being the centre of the world may be counterbalanced by such synopsis. Besides, M.-O. is ready to take into consideration the specific geographical, historical, individual, and social factors which have caused different developments of ideas considered by him the same for Europe and Asia. By introducing these divergent facts he is bound to realize that certain

tendencies which are evident needs of one civilization are duly neglected in others

In his detailed expositions the author goes even further He throws into full relief some specific features which have no parallels in the West at all Thus he points out as the two leading Hindu ideas the concepts of caste and of transmigration, the latter of which in India gets its unique tinge from its interconnection with the biological idea of karma (pp 86 ff and 117)

Further, the statement is to be welcomed that Indian philosophy, even in the apparently nihilistic systems of the Mādhyamikas, never gives up India's fundamental idea of activism and dynamics (p 105) M O goes even so far as to proclaim that accordingly the Hindu has never established a system of ontology in the Western sense of mere doctrine of being, but advanced instead a quasi biological concept of activism and of phenomena as functions (p 117) Even Hindu formal logic has, according to M O 's view, visualized in its *pramānas*, not abstract canons of values, but canons of action (p 118)

We find here a happy observation of the author on the Indian theory of atoms Here too he marks the difference between this and the corresponding Western concepts In accordance with the fundamental Hindu concretivism the atom is explained not like the Greek *atomos* as indivisible, and as such transcending all empirical phenomena, but merely as something of the smallest actual extension

Other observations, especially those on Indian *samsāra*, are also worth noting M O believes that a former doctrine of theriolatry is the foundation of India s dogma of transmigration through human and animal shape (p 101)

Other problems, for instance, the fundamental confrontation Man and Nature, which is certainly a common problem of thinkers all over the world, are answered in a different manner in Greece, the Middle Ages, the Chinese Taoism and Confucianism, and in India M O coins the slogan Greece

postulates a life in conformity with Nature; the Middle Ages, with regard to their dogma of original sin, want a supernatural life; while Yogic, Buddhistic, and Tantric India and Indian art favour a trans-natural ideal, in the sense of trying to equal Nature (p. 179 and annotation 2, p. 111).

To conclude: in spite of the regrettable shortness of this survey, and in spite of the methodical dogma adopted by him, which easily could lead to a treatment of the subject-matter as mere "schematical indications" (p. 108), M.-O. succeeds in providing valuable and specific observations.

B. 95. BETTY HEIMANN.

ZUR OSTSEEFINNISCHEN MORPHOLOGIE: Stammesalternation im Ostseefinnischen (Ungarische Bibliothek, 24). By A. BUSSENIUS. 10 × 7, pp. 116. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1939.

In this essay, a dissertation for the Doctorate at the University of Berlin, 1937, the author tries to solve some problems of Finnish grammar, in particular to explain the change of the last vowel of the "stem" in such words as pah*a* "bad": pah*e*mpi "worse", or ant*a*a "to give": ann*e*ttaan "it is given", or forms as puhu*a* Inf. I: puhu*e*ssa Inf. II. Previous attempts to explain this change have not been very happy (1–6). By a careful investigation of the examples taken also from the older language and the dialects (9–35), Dr. Bussenius succeeds in showing the original alternation was not between stems ending in -a and in -e, but between stems ending in -a and in a consonant (105–116). He shows, too, that many modern forms of the frequent stems ending in -e originate in forms ending in a consonant (36–44), the -e being developed later as a prop-vowel, whereas -e in certain cases vanished regularly (45–66), e.g. toissa (from *tois-na) in toissa päivänä "the day before yesterday" ("on the other day") represents an older stage of the declension, compared with toisena, used otherwise (36–7), whereas

tulla "to come" is developed from *tule-dak: tulee "he comes" (65–6). Many other points of the grammar are also touched, always in a judicious manner (e.g. the formation of the Passive voice, 109–110, and of the Conditional mood in Finnish, 98–100, the number of syllables in Finno-ugrian words, 46, 48). Only I wonder why such verbs as rohjeta, 3rd sing. pres. rohkenee, are said to be "sekundär" (108). As the author always shows that he has tested the details and knows the history of linguistics, I was surprised to find him often using this term of Indo-European grammar, Nominative. It should be acknowledged there is no Nominative either in the Finno-ugrian languages or in the other languages of the same type (cf. K. Grönbech, *Der türkische Sprachbau*, i, 129). I have mentioned this often, following such great predecessors as Böhtlingk and Schiefner. If it is not allowed to learn from me, to quote these men will be allowed even in the Germany of to-day. The reader should not be deterred from reading the book by the lengthy representation of many theoretical points. The author hides modestly his etymological skill by hardly ever giving the meaning of a Finnish word, neatly combining, e.g., ystävä "friend" with yskää "embrace" or kevyt, keveä "light" (Hungarian kevés "little"?), with keuhko "the lungs, the lights" (34–5).

After a rather disappointing treatment of Finnish grammar, which appeared recently, it is refreshing to turn to a book which is clearly the result of real research. I trust Bussenius will venture to give us a work so eagerly longed for, a complete Finnish grammar with full treatment of the dialects and the older language.

B. 476. ERNST LEWY.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

RATNASAMUCCAYA. A comprehensive and classified Catalogue of Sanskrit Works published in India and Abroad. M. C. LACHHMAN DAS. Lahore, 1939.

BURHĀN-I-MA'ĀTHIR. By ALI IBN AZIR ALLAH TABATABA. Hyderabad, Deccan, 1936.

AUNADIKAPADARNAVA. Ed. T. R. CHINTAMANI. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 7, Pt. 4. University of Madras, 1939.

MĀRWĀR-KA-ITIHĀSA. Ed. V. REU. Jodhpur, 1938.

THE GROWTH OF LITERATURE. By H. M. CHADWICK and N. K. CHADWICK. Vol. III, Pts. 1–4. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1940.

JENGHIZ KHAN. By C. C. WALKER. London : Luzac & Co., 1939.

THE SOURCES OF ARABIAN MUSIC. By H. G. FARMER. Bearsden, Scotland : privately, 1940.

FOLK ART OF BENGAL. By A. MOOKERJEE. Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1939.

EVERYDAY ARABIC. By H. M. NAHMAD and C. RABIN, with preface by Professor H. A. R. Gibb. London : J. M. Dent. 5s.

AL-FAROOQ. LIFE OF OMAR THE GREAT, Vol. I. By MAULANA SHIBLI NUMANI. Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf.

ÉLÉMENTS DE L'ARABE CLASSIQUE. By R. BLACHÈRE. Paris : G. P. Maisonneuve, 1939.

LE CONTRAT DE CAUTIONNEMENT EN DROIT IRANIEN. By ABDOL HOSSEIN ALI-ABADI. Paris : Maurice Lavergne, 1938.

L'ILLUMINATION DANS LE MYSTICISME DE L'IRAN. By ABDOL HOSSEIN ALI-ABADI. Maurice Lavergne, 1939.

OBITUARY NOTICE

David Samuel Margoliouth

1858–1940

It would be no exaggeration to say that for the last thirty-five years Professor Margoliouth was, in the eyes of lay and learned alike, the leading Arabic scholar in England By virtue of his publications, learning and personality, and the position which he held in this Society, he was regarded in the international circle of Orientalists as the chief representative of Oriental Studies in Great Britain, while his long tenure of the Laudian Professorship at Oxford had contributed to give him an almost legendary reputation amongst non Orientalists and even in the Islamic countries of the East

In his youth and early days at Oxford he had been a classic, and it was in his study of the Arabic versions of Aristotle's *Poetics*, issued in 1887, that he first displayed his talents as an Arabic scholar In the years following his appointment to the Laudian Chair in 1889, a series of erudite publications—the Arabic papyri at the Bodleian Library (1893), a translation of part of Baiḍāwi s Koran Commentary (1894), and the Letters of Abu'l Ala (1898)—testified to his mastery of some of the most difficult and intricate branches of Arabic literature After his marriage to Miss Jessie Payne Smith in 1896, he was largely occupied in collaboration with her on her father's *Thesaurus Syriacus*, but found time to issue a number of biblical studies, mostly of a controversial kind

With the appearance of *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam* in the "Heroes of the Nations" series in 1905, Margoliouth for the first time came before the wider public as an interpreter of Islam This essay was followed by *Mohammedanism* in the Home University Library in 1911, and a more important series of Hibbert Lectures on the *Early Development of Mohammedanism*, published in 1914, as well as a number of articles contributed to various encyclopædias All three books had a substantial success, and have stood for a generation as the standard English works on their subjects Amongst Orientalists, however, they had a somewhat mixed reception

The solid learning which had gone into the making of them was universally respected, and the last of the three especially threw new light on many disputed questions. But the ironical tone which informed his observations disturbed many of his European and sometimes infuriated his Muslim readers. The soundness of his judgment was inevitably called in question where insight rather than literary scholarship was demanded. A similar reception met the publication in 1924 of his Schweich Lectures on the *Relations between Arabs and Israelites*, in spite of their masterly handling of the scattered evidences in ancient inscriptions and literary traditions.

But the criticism of other, and often less qualified, scholars seldom moved him from his convictions. Yet once at least he made a partial recantation, in face of the all-but universal (though for the most part silent) astonishment which greeted his article, published in this *Journal* in 1925, deriding the authenticity of all Arabic poetry ascribed to the pre-Islamic period. The view which he maintained rested in fact less upon the arguments adduced in his paper on this occasion than upon a peculiar conception of poetry in general which he had expressed in a number of other contexts. But though he never, to my knowledge, admitted the genuineness of any pre-Islamic poem, a remark made in the course of a review two years afterwards (*Journal*, 1927, pp. 903–4), suggested that his later views were less clear-cut than those which he had originally put forward.

It was in editing and translating Arabic texts that Margoliouth's scholarship found its most congenial field. His prodigious memory, which carried without effort the fruits of a vast range of reading in many languages, was an unequalled instrument for this task. The series of volumes of Yāqūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men* (1907–1927) was his most celebrated editorial achievement. But to some Arabists his less famous texts—the turgid and allusive Letters of Abu'l-'Alā and the discursive "Table-Talk" of at-Tanūkhī

(1921)—gave a more brilliant exhibition of his powers. As a translator he combined scrupulous accuracy with ease of diction, displayed more especially in his versions of the Chronicle of Miskawaih (1920), the "Table-Talk" (1922), and the "Devil's Delusion" of Ibn al-Jauzī which appeared serially in recent issues of *Islamic Culture.*

Margoliouth's services to this Society scarcely need to be recalled here. The award of the Gold Medal to him in 1938 was primarily a tribute to scholarship, but expressed also our appreciation of the unwearied care he had given for more than twenty years to the Society's affairs, as member of Council, Vice-President, and Director. Other honours also came to him, amongst them the Fellowship of the British Academy, the D.Litt. of Durham University, and honorary membership of the German Oriental Society. He had frequently visited the Near East, and, with that generous enthusiasm for great scholars, in spite of religious differences, which distinguishes the Arab peoples, he was everywhere welcomed and honoured. When the Arabic Academy was founded at Damascus in 1920, he was among the first foreign scholars to be elected to its ranks, and in 1929 he was invited to lecture in the University of Calcutta.

As with most great scholars, his time and his stores of learning were placed with generous readiness at the disposal of every genuine applicant. Though as a teacher he may have expected too much of the beginner, the productions of his research students demonstrate the debt which they owed to his patient guidance. Strangers found him reserved, formal, perhaps a little formidable, but on closer acquaintance they were surprised to discover not only friendliness and gentleness, but a quick sense of humour. At Oxford, he enjoyed the reputation of something of a "character", but his closest friends and colleagues had an affectionate esteem for him, both as a man and a scholar.

H. A. R. Gibb.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Notices

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

The second period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors for publication in the above series, lately founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, will close on 31st December, 1940. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this number of the *Journal*. They may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repairs throughout the month of August.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Remainder of Accessions for October–December, 1939.

Sagittarius. The strange apotheosis of Sun Yat-sen . . . 8 × 5½. *London*, 1939. *From Messrs. Heath Cranton.*

Sarkār (V.) and others. Samāja-vijñāna . . . [Essays on sociological subjects.] *Bengali.* 7½ × 5½. *Calcutta*, 1938. *From the Author.*

Schmidt (E. F.): The treasury of Persepolis and other discoveries in the homeland of the Achaemenians . . . (Univ. of Chicago, Or. Inst. Communications, no. 21.) 10 × 7½. *Chicago*, 1939. *From the Oriental Institute.*

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